*Aelred of Rievaulx*

# Spiritual Friendship

*Translated by* Lawrence C. Braceland

*Edited by* Marsha L. Dutton

VISIT…

All content available from the Liturgical Press website is protected by copyright and is owned or controlled by Liturgical Press.

You may print or download to a local hard disk the e-book content for your personal and non-commercial use only equal to the number of copies purchased. Each reproduction must include the title and full copyright notice as it appears in the content.

UNAUTHORIZED COPYING, REPRODUCTION, REPUBLISHING, UPLOADING, DOWNLOADING, DISTRIBUTION, POSTING, TRANSMITTING OR DUPLICATING ANY OF THE MATERIAL IS PROHIBITED.

ISBN: 978-087907-957-4

Cistercian Fathers Series: Number Five

# Aelred of Rievaulx
# Spiritual Friendship

Translated by
Lawrence C. Braceland, SJ

Edited and Introduction by
Marsha L. Dutton

Cistercian Publications
www.cistercianpublications.org

LITURGICAL PRESS
Collegeville, Minnesota
www.litpress.org

A Cistercian Publications title published by Liturgical Press

**Cistercian Publications**
Editorial Offices
Abbey of Gethsemani
3642 Monks Road
Trappist, Kentucky 40051
www.cistercianpublications.org

The translation of *De Spirituali Amicitiâ* by Lawrence Braceland, SJ, is used with permission of The Archive of the Jesuits in Canada.

© 2010 by Order of Saint Benedict, Collegeville, Minnesota. All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, microfilm, microfiche, mechanical recording, photocopying, translation, or by any other means, known or yet unknown, for any purpose except brief quotations in reviews, without the previous written permission of Liturgical Press, Saint John's Abbey, P.O. Box 7500, Collegeville, Minnesota 56321-7500. Printed in the United States of America.

The Library of Congress has cataloged the printed edition as follows:

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Aelred, of Rievaulx, Saint, 1110–1167.
[De spirituali amicitia. English]
Aelred of Rievaulx : spiritual friendship / translated by Lawrence C. Braceland ; edited and Introduction by Marsha L. Dutton.
p. cm. — (Cistercian fathers series ; no. 5)
Includes bibliographical references and indexes.
ISBN 978-0-87907-970-3 — ISBN 978-0-87907-957-4 (e-book)
1. Spiritual life—Catholic Church—Early works to 1800. 2. Friendship —Religious aspects—Christianity—Early works to 1800. 3. Catholic Church—Doctrines—Early works to 1800. I. Braceland, Lawrence C. II. Dutton, Marsha L. III. Title.

BX2349.A4513 2010
241'.676—dc22

2009047357

In memory of and thanksgiving for the life of

Father Chrysogonus Waddell, OCSO
1930–2008

*Teque deprecor, bone Iesu,*
*ut cui propicius donasti uerba tue scientie diligenter haurire;*
*dones etiam benignus aliquando ad te fontem omnis scientie peruenire*
*et parere semper ante faciem tuam.*

—The Venerable Bede

# Table of Contents


Abbreviations 9

Introduction 13

*Spiritual Friendship* 51

Select Bibliography 127

Appendix 139

Indices

- Index A: Scriptural Citations and Allusions 142
- Index B: Classical, Patristic, and Medieval Works 145
- Index C: General Index 151
- Index D: Modern Authors, Editors, and Translators 158

# Abbreviations

## General Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| c. | *circa*, about |
| ca./cc. | chapter / chapters |
| cf. | compare |
| Comm | Commentary on |
| Ed(s). | Editor(s) / Edited by |
| e.g. | *exempli gratia*, for example |
| Ep(p) | *Epistol(ae)*, Letter(s) |
| Intro. | Introduction / Introduction by |
| Lat | Latin |
| LXX | Septuagint |
| MS. | manuscript |
| n(n) | note(s) |
| OCSO | Cistercian Order of the Strict Observance |
| p(p). | page(s) |
| Prol | Prologus, Prologue |
| Rpt. | Reprint |
| S(s) | Sermo(nes), sermon(s) |
| SJ | Society of Jesus |
| Trans. | Translator / Translated by |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| vol(s) | volume(s) |
| Vulg | Vulgate |

## Scriptural Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Chr | 1 Chronicles |
| Col | Colossians |
| 1 Cor | 1 Corinthians |
| 2 Cor | 2 Corinthians |
| Eph | Ephesians |

| | |
|---|---|
| Est | Esther |
| Ex | Exodus |
| Ez | Ezekiel |
| Gal | Galatians |
| Gn | Genesis |
| Is | Isaiah |
| Jb | Job |
| Jgs | Judges |
| Jn | John |
| 1 Jn | 1 John |
| Jr | Jeremiah |
| Js | James |
| 1 K | 1 Kings |
| Lk | Luke |
| Lv | Leviticus |
| Mt | Matthew |
| Nm | Numbers |
| Prv | Proverbs |
| Ps | Psalms |
| Qo | Qoheleth (Ecclesiastes) |
| Rom | Romans |
| Ru | Ruth |
| Sg | Song of Songs |
| Si | Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) |
| 1 Sm | 1 Samuel |
| 2 Sm | 2 Samuel |
| Tb | Tobit |
| 1 Thes | 1 Thessalonians |
| Ti | Titus |
| 1 Tm | 1 Timothy |
| 2 Tm | 2 Timothy |
| Ws | Wisdom |

## Works, Series, and Journals

| | |
|---|---|
| ABR | *American Benedictine Review* |
| CCCM | Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers |
| CCSL | Corpus Christianorum Series Latina. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers |

| | |
|---|---|
| CF | Cistercian Fathers series. Spencer; Washington, DC; Kalamazoo; Collegeville, 1970– |
| Cîteaux | *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*; *Cîteaux in de Nederlanden*. Westmalle, Belgium; Nuits-Saints-Georges, France, 1950– |
| Coll | *Collectanea cisterciensia; Collectanea o.c.r.* |
| CS | Cistercian Studies series. Spencer; Washington, DC; Kalamazoo; Collegeville, 1970– |
| CSEL | Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum |
| CSQ | *Cistercian Studies / Cistercian Studies Quarterly* |
| PL | J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina. 221 vols. Paris, 1844–1864 |
| RB | *Regula monachorum Sancti Benedicti*; *Rule of Saint Benedict* |
| RTAM | *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*. Louvain, 1929– |
| SBOp | *Sancti Bernardi Opera*. 8 vol. Ed. J. Leclercq, H. M. Rochais, C. H. Talbot. Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–1977 |
| SCh | Sources chrétiennes series. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1941– |
| SM | *Studia monastica*. Monserrat (Barcelona), Spain, 1959– |

## Works of Aelred of Rievaulx

| | |
|---|---|
| Anima | *De anima* |
| Bello stand | *De bello standardii* |
| Iesu | *De Iesu puero duodenni* |
| Inst incl | *De institutione inclusarum* |
| Lam D | *Lamentatio David Regis Scotie* |
| Oner | *Sermones de oneribus* |
| Orat past | *Oratio pastoralis* |
| Sp am | *De spiritali amicitia* |
| Spec car | *Speculum caritatis* |
| Vita E | *Vita Sancti Edwardi, Regis et Confessoris* |

## Works of Augustine

| | |
|---|---|
| Civ Dei | *Civitate Dei* |
| Conf | *Confessiones* |
| Gen ad litt imp | *De Genesi ad litteram opus imperfectum* |
| Lib arb | *De libero arbitrio* |
| Sol | *Soliloquiæ* |

## Works of Bernard of Clairvaux

| | |
|---|---|
| Dil | *De diligendo Dei* |
| Div | Sermo de diversis |
| QH | Sermo super psalmum "Qui habitat" |
| SC | Sermo super Cantica canticorum |

## Works of Gilbert of Hoyland

| | |
|---|---|
| SC | Sermo super Cantica canticorum |

## Works of Walter Daniel

| | |
|---|---|
| Ep M | *Epistola ad Mauricium* |
| Lam A | *Lamentatio Aelredi* |
| Sent | *Centum Sententiae* |
| Vita A | *Vita Aelredi* |

## Works of William of Saint Thierry

| | |
|---|---|
| Cant | *Expositio super Cantica canticorum* |
| Contem | *De contemplando Deo* |
| Ep frat | *Epistola* [*aurea*] *ad fratres de Monte Dei* |
| Med | *Meditativæ orationes* |

## Works of Classical and Patristic Authors

| | |
|---|---|
| Amic | Cicero, *De amicitia* |
| Coll | Cassian, *Collationes* |
| Off | Ambrose, *De officiis* |

# Introduction

The first decade of the twelfth century promised peace to the people of England after nearly a half century of turmoil. In 1100 the third Norman king and only English-born son of the Conqueror, Henry I, married Edith of Scotland, popularly known as Good Queen Maud,[1] a direct descendant of the hereditary royalty of both England and Scotland. A child of this marriage could be expected to put to rest any lingering English resistance to Norman rule; the births of Matilda in 1102 and William in 1103 seemed to assure Henry's succession and the merging of the Norman and Anglo-Saxon lines. Far in the distance were the death of William in the disaster of the White Ship in 1120, Henry's death in 1135, and the nineteen-year war over the throne between Matilda and her cousin Stephen.

While the royal marriage seemed made in heaven, ecclesiastical politics troubled the marriages of the clergy. English priests had long resisted papal pressure for clerical celibacy. But by the late eleventh century new sanctions had been imposed on married clergy, the most definitive at the Council of Clermont in 1095, when Pope Urban II forbade the ordination of priests' sons except as canons regular or monks.[2] The church's relentless movement

[1] Maud is short for Matilda, the name taken by Edith on her marriage to honor Queen Matilda, William's wife and Henry's mother.

[2] Mansi 20:724; Melfi, canon 14; Clermont, canon 11. See Barstow, *Married Priests*, and Brooke, "Gregorian Reform." Full references to all works cited in the Introduction may be found in the bibliography below (pp. 127–38). (Abbreviated titles are listed in "Abbreviations," pp. 9–12.)

toward clerical celibacy shaped the life of a son born in 1110 to Eilaf, priest of the church of Saint Andrew in Hexham, Wilfrid's seventh-century seat near the border of Northumbria and Scotland. This child—son, grandson, and great-grandson of Northumbrian priests—grew up to follow in the vocation of his fathers as Aelred of Rievaulx, Cistercian monk and abbot.

With the secular priesthood barred to the sons of priests, Eilaf and his wife must have worried about the future of their sons. While Aelred's brothers Samuel and Æthelwold apparently lived out their lives as laymen,[3] Aelred benefited from unusual opportunities that allowed him to choose between a prestigious position as a courtier and life in religion. At the age of fourteen or fifteen, after a few years of education (probably in the cathedral school at Durham, where his family had long-standing connections), he entered the court of King David I of Scotland to be brought up with Simon and Waldef, the sons of David's wife, Matilda of St. Liz, and with Prince Henry, son of David and Matilda.

As Aelred approached adulthood, he took on increasingly important responsibilities at court. Walter Daniel, the author of the *Vita Aelredi*, says that Aelred was David's *echonomus*, or steward,[4] and both Laurence of Durham and Reginald of Durham address him as "dispenser to the king."[5] In his own works Aelred occasionally alludes to himself in similar terms. In *Pastoral Prayer*, for example, he asks that God make him "the dependable dispenser, the discerning distributor, the prudent provider of all that you have given."[6]

In 1134 Aelred left Scotland to become a monk at Rievaulx, the new Cistercian monastery in Yorkshire. Walter Daniel portrays his entry into monastic life as a sudden conversion, literally an over-

[3] Richard of Hexham names the three sons of Eilaf in "Prior Richard's History" §9 (p. 55). No daughters appear in historical records, but Aelred explains his writing of *The Formation of Anchoresses* as the fulfillment of a request from a sister.

[4] Vita A ca. 2; CF 57:91. (Citations of works published in the Cistercian Fathers series appear, as here, by series number and page numbers.) The standard modern biography of Aelred is Squire, *Aelred*.

[5] Hoste, "Survey," 263; Reginald, *Libellus S. Godrici* §1.

[6] Orat past §9; CF 73:54–56.

night decision.[7] But Walter also says that Aelred had been longing for the cloister during his time at court,[8] and Aelred seems to indicate in his lamentation for David's death in 1153 that when he left the court David bade him a formal and public farewell:

> I remember the grace with which you now for the last time received me, I remember the good will with which you granted all my requests, I remember the generosity that you showed me, I remember the embraces and kisses with which you released me, not without tears, while all those present marveled.[9]

Even details of the conversion narrative in the *Vita* suggest that Aelred's entry into Rievaulx was facilitated by his planning and influential friends. As an early patron of Rievaulx known to Bernard of Clairvaux, David may have guided Aelred there.[10]

Monastic life made it possible for Aelred to serve God and his brothers as a priest, like his father and father's fathers. But service at court, it turned out, had been a good preparation for life at Rievaulx. Years of obedience and instruction there had readied him for accepting monastic discipline and obeying his abbot, while his exercise of authority on David's behalf and travel on David's business had anticipated the responsibilities that he would bear as novice master at Rievaulx from 1142 to 1143, as abbot at Rievaulx's daughter house of Revesby from 1143 to 1147, and then as abbot at Rievaulx until his death in 1167. The young monastery of Rievaulx certainly needed Aelred's experience in diplomacy and royal etiquette, his ability in English, Latin, and the Norman French of the Scottish court, and his natural gifts of intellect and person. Thomas Merton explains the value of such a person to both his community and the increasingly powerful Cistercian Order:

[7] Vita A cc. 5–7; CF 57:96–100.

[8] Vita A ca. 4; CF 57:95–96.

[9] Lam D §13; PL 195:716; CF 56:70.

[10] For the historical context of Aelred's conversion, see Dutton, "Conversion."

> The Cistercians of Saint Bernard's generation had become one of the most important influences in the active life of the Church and even in European politics of their time. . . . Anyone who had any talent or, worse still, any powerful connections, was likely to find himself in danger of leading an increasingly active life.[11]

Aelred, as it happened, had both talent and powerful connections. Although Bernard later wrote of Aelred's claim to have come from the kitchen to the desert,[12] that kitchen was as much a metaphor as was the desert of the Rye Valley. In whatever capacity Aelred had served David, he had received a fine worldly training in return, and whatever he may have given up to become a monk, he never forgot what he had learned at court. The reputation his diplomatic abilities gained for Rievaulx as he acted in affairs of church and kingdom over the next thirty years contributed to the growing renown and prosperity of the Order in England.

Aelred began his public career early in his monastic life. In 1138, when Rievaulx's patron, Walter Espec, was to surrender his castle at Wark to King David, Aelred accompanied Abbot William of Rievaulx to the Scottish border to negotiate the transfer. In 1142 Aelred represented William in a party of northern prelates protesting before Innocent II the election of King Stephen's nephew William as archbishop of York.[13]

When Abbot William died in 1145, he was succeeded by Maurice, whom Walter describes as "a man of great sanctity and of outstanding judgement," but after two years Maurice resigned, and the community elected Aelred as their third abbot.[14] He apparently welcomed the move, perhaps in part because it allowed him greater scope for his diplomatic interests and talents than his four-year abbacy at Revesby, a backwater to one who had lived both at David's court and at Rievaulx. His later reference to Waverley

[11] Merton, "St Aelred," 62.

[12] Spec car Ep Bernard 1; CCCM 1:3; SBOp 8:486–89; CF 17:69.

[13] Vita A ca. 14; CF 57:106–7; Squire, *Aelred*, 23–24; Knowles, "The Case," 82.

[14] Vita A cc. 25–26; CF 57:114–15.

Abbey in Surrey as "concealed in a corner"[15] suggests his preference for a community like Rievaulx, bustling with monks and lay brothers.

The abbatial election was a close one, however, complicated by the rumor that Aelred had campaigned for the position. That rumor, though angrily denied by Walter Daniel, along with anecdotes in the *Vita Aelredi* and Walter's "Letter to Maurice" about antagonists to whom Aelred responded with patience and affection, indicates that he was not universally loved and admired.[16] Such evidence of regular opposition throughout his life is too clear to overlook. For all Walter's efforts to argue that it emanated from envy, enough instances of hostility arose to trouble the hagiographer.

Rievaulx prospered under Aelred's abbacy, though. According to Walter, between 1143 and 1167 it grew from some 300 inhabitants to about 650: "The father left behind him at Rievaulx, when he returned to Christ, one hundred and forty monks and five hundred *conversi* and laymen."[17] The greatest legacy of those years, Walter reports, was the shelter Rievaulx offered to all in need. Aelred himself, Walter says, insisted that "it is the singular and supreme glory of the house of Rievaulx that above all else it teaches tolerance of the infirm and compassion for others in their necessities."[18]

During these years Aelred's diplomatic skills contributed to a supportive relationship between the Order and the crown. According to the fourteenth-century continuation of the *Peterborough Chronicle*, Aelred's efforts during the twelfth-century papal schism brought about Henry II's decisive support for the Cistercian candidate, resulting in 1161 in the formal recognition of Alexander III.[19] Additional confirmation of Aelred's influence with Henry appears

[15] Bello stand 2; PL 195:704; CF 56:251.

[16] Vita A cc. 3, 26, 27, 37; CF 57:92–95, 115–16, 123–24; Ep M [4]; CF 57:157–58.

[17] Vita A ca. 30; CF 57:118–19. See also Spec car 2.17.43; CCCM 1:87; CF 17:195.

[18] Vita A ca. 29; CF 57:118.

[19] *Chronicon Angliae*, a. 1162, p. 96.

in his being invited to write a new life of the eleventh-century King Edward the Confessor after Alexander canonized Edward in gratitude to Henry. Aelred also reportedly preached at the 1163 translation of the new saint's relics.[20]

Aelred suffered from debilitating illness during the second half of his abbacy. Because of his poor health, Walter reports, in about 1157 the Cistercian General Chapter allowed him to sleep and eat in Rievaulx's infirmary; later he lived in a nearby hut.[21] In the winter of 1166–1167, in the twentieth year of his abbacy, he died and was buried in the chapter house next to Abbot William, in a shrine that survived until the Reformation.[22] So his earthly life ended in the monastery that had been his home for thirty-three years and in the presence of his friends and spiritual sons. He had lived and died as a child of the North, a son of the church, a priest and successor of priests, a father, a friend, a historian, and a spiritual teacher.

## Aelred's Works

In his time Aelred was best known as a public figure, the most powerful Cistercian in England, a tireless and affectionate abbot and administrator, an effective mediator, and a familiar of kings, barons, bishops, abbots, and hermits. Of that public figure only fragmentary evidence remains: a name in cartularies, an occasional signature on scattered documents, a memory in works of now little-known contemporaries such as Gilbert of Hoyland, Jocelyn of Furness, Richard of Hexham, and Reginald of Durham. Aelred is therefore known today primarily as the historian, abbot, spiritual

[20] Vita A ca. 32; CF 57:121; *Chronicon Angliae* 98; Squire, *Aelred*, 94; Dutton, *"Sancto Dunstano,"* 193–95. Peter Jackson has identified a sermon in the Reading (UK) University Library as probably Aelred's sermon for the translation ("*In translacione*").

[21] Vita A ca. 31; CF 57:119–20. See also Gilbert of Hoyland, SC 40.4; PL 184:216 (S 41.4); CF 26:495.

[22] The traditional date for Aelred's death is 12 Jan. 1167, celebrated as his feast within the Cistercian Order, on the authority of Vita A ca. 57; CF 57:138; Squire, *Aelred*, 2.

director, and speculative and contemplative theologian who survives in his own writing. Throughout the years of public prominence, as he administered two monasteries, taught and nurtured his monks, and traveled from Rievaulx to Whithorn to Rome to Westminster to Clairvaux to Cîteaux and back again to England, Aelred also wrote prolifically, with such simplicity, originality, and power that one would think him to have been always at home. As truly as he was a man of the church and a man of affairs, he was also a man of letters, and throughout his monastic life he wrote for both church and world.

Aelred's works have traditionally been roughly categorized as historical and ascetical or spiritual. As the two kinds of writing differ greatly in subject matter and audience, it is easy to forget Aelred the spiritual director when reading Aelred the historian, while the spiritual treatises, exploring the way to God through love of friends and intimacy with Jesus of Nazareth, seem timeless, as though written by a man lacking both awareness of and interest in the events of his day.

Evidence suggests that in his time Aelred was best known as a writer of narrative works of English history and that he understood himself as a historian, a successor to the Venerable Bede.[23] His seven historical treatises, mostly written in the mid-1150s, primarily concern people of the English past and their impact on their twelfth-century descendants. Four of these focus sharply on contemporary conflicts and rulers. *Lament for David, King of Scotland* (1153) expresses Aelred's grief at the recent death of the king who had been his patron and friend; it praises David for his virtuous kingship and life of faith while acknowledging his sinful behavior during the English Civil War.

The *Battle of the Standard*, about an 1138 battle in that war, probably dates to 1153–1154, shortly before the death of King Stephen and the succession of Matilda's son Henry of Anjou, whom Stephen named his heir in the treaty concluding the war. King David and his son Prince Henry led the Scottish forces against the Norman

[23] See Dutton, "Historian's Historian," 407–10.

army led by Walter Espec, the patron of Rievaulx. With a lengthy passage on the founding of Rievaulx at the center of the work, *Battle* sharply contrasts the active and contemplative lives while tacitly urging Stephen and Henry toward ruling with reason, justice, and peace.

Two other historical works address King Henry II and urge him to imitate his English royal ancestors in virtue and faith. The first of these, written a few months before Henry became king, is *Genealogy of the Kings of the English* (1153–1154), which incorporates the *Lament for David* as a first chapter. It celebrates Henry's descent from the Anglo-Saxon kings of England and urges him to emulate those ancestors to bring about peace and prosperity in England. *Genealogy* is a mirror for princes, intended as a guide for the man who will soon unite two peoples. *The Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor*, written between 1161 and 1163 for the translation of the relics of King Edward the Confessor, offers Edward as a portrait of royal sanctity and declares Henry not only the cornerstone in which the two walls of the English and Norman nations unite but also the fulfillment of Edward's deathbed vision as the one who will at last bring peace to England.

Aelred also wrote two works apparently in response to requests to preach at ecclesiastical events. *The Life of Saint Ninian* (?1154–1160) seems to have been commissioned by a bishop of Whithorn, Ninian's see in Galloway, and *The Saints of Hexham* probably originated as a sermon to be preached at the 1155 translation of the relics of five early bishops of Hexham in the church that Aelred's father and grandfather had restored after the Viking depredations.

A final short narrative work, *A Certain Wonderful Miracle* (1158–1165) (since the seventeenth century wrongly known as *The Nun of Watton*), records the rape of a young Gilbertine nun by a lay brother in her community, her subsequent pregnancy and brutal punishment by her community, the miracles that removed first her child and then the fetters by which she was held, and Aelred's own appearance as advisor to the community and absolver of the girl.

Aelred also wrote at least six influential works of Incarnational theology and spiritual direction, all revealing his interest and growing sophistication in rhetorical technique. His first work, *The Mirror*

*of Charity*, has traditionally been dated to 1142–1143, during his months as the novice master at Rievaulx, though Charles Dumont has persuasively argued for a date after Aelred became abbot at Revesby, in 1143 or later.[24] This work focuses on the close relationship between divine and human love, a theme to which Aelred repeatedly returned in his later works. His insertion of a dialogue between a novice and a novice master named Aelred anticipates *Spiritual Friendship*.

Aelred most fully developed his Incarnational understanding of the route to God through the love of Jesus in his sacred humanity in two small treatises of contemplative theology, *Jesus as a Boy of Twelve* and *The Formation of Anchoresses*, both probably written between 1157 and 1165. The first of these explores the gospel narrative of the boy Jesus in the temple at Jerusalem (Lk 2:41-51), developed according to three traditional senses of medieval allegory: the literal or historical, the allegorical, and the tropological or moral. The third portion of the work concerns the contemplative journey to God; here Aelred presents his teaching of meditation on Jesus' life as a way to journey to the love and experience of God, a theme he develops in more detail in *Formation*'s meditation on the past.

The most moving of Aelred's spiritual works is his *Pastoral Prayer* (?1165–1166), probably written as illness restricted his activity, focusing his attention on the community at Rievaulx. In part a meditation on the role of the abbot as defined by the *Rule of Saint Benedict*, this work expresses an abbot's love for his monks and his desire to spend himself for them as Jesus did for humankind. It ends with what seems to be a farewell to the community as the abbot returns its members to Jesus, their true shepherd.

Aelred left many sermons, mostly for the fifteen liturgical days on which Cistercian abbots were required to preach to their community. Several nonliturgical sermons survive as well, including one that he apparently preached to the clerical synod at Troyes, presumably in connection with a journey to the General Chapter

[24] Dumont, "Introduction," 55–59; see also Stiegman, "Woods and Stones," 338–45.

at Cîteaux, and one devoted to Saint Katherine of Alexandria. Between spring 1163 and the summer of 1164 he also wrote a thirty-one-sermon commentary on Isaiah 13–16, *On the Prophetic Burdens of Isaiah*, dedicating the work to Gilbert Foliot, who became bishop of London in 1163.

The final works move in a new direction, away from the pastoral guidance of the earlier contemplative works. In these Aelred develops topics more speculative than those in the earlier works, concerned with moral or theological inquiry rather than with spiritual direction, though still ultimately exploring the soul's movement toward God in this life and the next. He composed both *Spiritual Friendship* and *On the Soul* (1163–1166) as dialogues; by dividing the works' arguments into discrete blocks of thought, he engages his audience at each step of his argument. *On the Soul*, a study of the implications of Augustinian psychology, seeks to explain the nature of God through an exploration of the nature of the human soul, promising "Perhaps, when you have found the image, you will more easily find him of whom it is the image."[25]

## Spiritual Friendship

*Spiritual Friendship* can be dated between April 1164 and Aelred's death in January 1167 by the reference to Octavian of Monticello, the antipope Victor IV from 1159 until his death on 20 April 1164 (Sp am 2.41).[26] It is fitting that Aelred includes this contemporary instance of an example of false friendship alongside the numerous examples of true friendships from history, classical literature, and Scripture. This rare revelation in a spiritual treatise of Aelred's attention to events outside the monastery not only assists in dating the work but also helps to integrate the historical and spiritual, the worldly and cenobitic concerns of his life and work. It is especially important in this late work as he writes of the sacramental essence of friendship—the way in which men and women may by loving one another embrace Christ in this life and enjoy eternal friendship

[25] Anima §5; CCCM 1:686; CF 22:37.
[26] See Dubois, *L'amitié*, xciii; Canivez, *Statuta*, 1:73.

with God in time to come. That path is both the form and the argument of *Spiritual Friendship*, which through a series of conversations among friends in a monastery establishes the value of human friendship, from its origin in creation to its final enduring realization in beatitude.[27]

## The Textual Tradition

*Spiritual Friendship* was apparently the most popular of Aelred's spiritual treatises in the Middle Ages. Anselm Hoste has described it as "the most transcribed of Aelred's works . . . the best known of the *corpus alredianum*."[28] It survives today in thirteen manuscripts, and three others contain excerpts.[29] Further, the thirteenth-century Franciscan *Registrum Librorum Anglie* records apparently lost manuscripts of the work at the Cistercian abbeys of Woburn, Jervaulx, and perhaps Margam.[30] The *Registrum* also lists at seven locations—the greatest number for any single listed work of Aelred's—an otherwise unknown work, *De quattuor hominibus*, which David N. Bell has tentatively identified with *De spiritali amicitia*.[31] At least five compendia of *Spiritual Friendship* survive in fifteen manuscripts from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries. Before the end of the twelfth century, Peter of Blois had liberally adapted *Spiritual Friendship* in his *De amicitia christiana*.[32]

[27] For a discussion of medieval attitudes toward friendship see McEvoy, *Philia*, and McGuire, *Friendship*.

[28] CCCM 1:281. Aelred's *Life of Saint Edward* was apparently even more popular, surviving today in at least thirty-one manuscripts (Hoste, *Bibliotheca*, 123–25).

[29] For a discussion of the manuscripts and textual tradition, see Hoste, "Preface," CCCM 1:281–83. For a complete listing of texts, compendia, translations, and studies of the work, see Hoste, *Bibliotheca*, 63–73.

[30] Bell, "Cistercian Authors," 295. Bell identifies the Margam work, which the *Registrum* titles *Dialogus*, as probably either *Spiritual Friendship* or one of its numerous medieval compendia.

[31] Bell, "Aelred of Warden."

[32] Delhaye, "Deux adaptations," 304–31; Davy, *Un traité*.

The work was first edited from Saint-Omer Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 86 by Richard Gibbons and published in *Opera Divi Aelredi Rievallensis*, printed at Douai in 1616.[33] Bertrand Tissier reprinted Gibbons' edition in the Bibliotheca Patrum Cisterciensium in 1662, and J.-P. Migne printed Tissier's edition in volume 195 of the Patrologia Latina. In 1948 J. Dubois reedited it from MS. Brussels 1384 and printed it with a parallel French translation, providing labels for both narrative and argumentative elements; his labeled divisions appear in the Appendix to this volume. In 1971 Anselm Hoste's critical edition, apparently based on British Library MS. Royal 8 F I, a twelfth-century manuscript from Revesby, the Cistercian monastery of which Aelred was the first abbot, appeared in the volume of Aelred's spiritual works in Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis.[34] The translation below is based on that edition.

The work has undergone numerous adaptations and translations through the years. Jean de Meun, famous as the continuator of the thirteenth-century *Roman de la Rose*, probably the best-known poem of medieval Europe, translated it into French in the late thirteenth century. Though no copy of his version is known to survive, Lionel J. Friedman and John V. Fleming have shown that Jean relied closely on *Spiritual Friendship* in his continuation of the *Roman*, in Reason's lengthy speech to the Lover.[35]

The work has been translated repeatedly into French, German, and Italian as well as English. Karl Otten translated it into German in 1927, and Richard Egenter published a partial German translation in 1928. Following Dubois's 1948 French translation, Charles Dumont translated it in 1961 and Gaëtane de Briey again in 1994. The most recent of a series of Italian translations, by Domenico Pezzini, appeared in 1996. In the twentieth century it was translated

[33] Hoste, "Preface," CCCM 1:281.

[34] Hoste, "Preface," CCCM 1:283.

[35] Friedman, "Jean de Meun"; Fleming, *Reason*, 68–83; see Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Roman*, ll. 4629–5563.

into English by M. E. Laker, C. H. Talbot, M. Francis Jerome, B. Delfendehl, and Mark F. Williams.

Aelred's work is widely known both as *De spiritali amicitia*, the title in Hoste and Talbot's 1971 CCCM volume, and *De spirituali amicitia*, the title in the Patrologia Latina and in two closely related manuscripts of the work. In the work itself Aelred consistently refers to *amicitia* as *spiritalis*.[36] The difference may be significant, however. Gaetano Raciti, in the introduction to the first volume of his edition of Aelred's sermons, says of "the apparent doublet *spiritalis/spiritualis*" that "in the Cistercian authors of the twelfth century and notably in Aelred, it marks the emergence of a semantic specialization," with *spiritalis* indicating a philosophic, hermeneutic, and speculative context, and *spiritualis* referring to the action of the Holy Spirit.[37] Aelred's consistent use of *spiritalis* may thus reflect the work's Ciceronian origins.

## Sources

The Prologue of *Spiritual Friendship* indicates the three types of sources from which Aelred drew: classical works, especially Cicero's *On Friendship*; patristic works, especially Ambrose's *On the Duties of the Clergy* and Augustine's *Confessions*;[38] and Scripture.[39] Finally, however, Aelred went beyond his sources to shape an innovative

[36] E.g., Sp am 1.38, 1.45, 2.59, 3.87; CCCM 1:295, 296, 313, 336.

[37] CCCM 2A:xiii.

[38] The copy of the *Confessions* listed in the Rievaulx catalogue may have belonged to Aelred; Walter Daniel says that he had a copy with him in his last days (Vita A ca. 42; CF 57:128). Cistercian houses possessed at least sixty-eight of Augustine's works; manuscripts containing all or portions of the *Confessions* are known to have been at Rievaulx, Flaxley, Holme Cultram, and Meaux. Similarly English Cistercian monasteries possessed twenty-one of Ambrose's works; copies of *De officiis* were at Rievaulx, Louth Park, Meaux, Roche, and perhaps Swine. Of the five works of Cicero known to have been in Cistercian libraries, none was at Rievaulx (Bell, *Index*, 31, 24–26, 54).

[39] On Aelred's sources see Dubois, *L'amitié*, xlviii–lxxii; on his use of Cicero and Augustine, see McEvoy, "Notes."

theological exposition of human friendship leading to union with Christ in this life and culminating in beatitude.

## *Cicero:* On Friendship

Marcus Tullius Cicero wrote *Laelius*, better known as *De amicitia* or *On Friendship*, in 44 BC. The primary Greek source of the work is probably a lost treatise on friendship by Theophrastus, although Cicero also indicates a knowledge of Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* and Xenophon's *Memorabilia*. In the fictional frame of the dialogue, Gaius Laelius, Roman praetor and consul, recalls the teaching of his friend Scipio Africanus the Younger, whose recent death has prompted him to remember a conversation between them from many years before. This conversation, Cicero says in the preface to the work, was later repeated to him by one of the participants.

The setting of *On Friendship* is the house of Laelius, just after the death of Scipio in 129 BC. One of Laelius's two sons-in-law asks him how he bears the loss of his friend. In response, Laelius speaks at length of the nature and benefits of friendship. Except for this beginning, which establishes the occasion for and the context of what follows, and a few parting words to the sons-in-law at the end of the work, Cicero uses the dialogue as a formal device: Laelius instructs his listeners without interruption, and the time and place of the conversation are unconnected to the larger questions it explores.

Aelred explicitly imitates Cicero in the three-book dialogue form of *Spiritual Friendship*. Both works begin with an authorial persona recalling his youth and explaining his reasons for writing about friendship as an adult. Both the Prologue and the first of the three books of *Spiritual Friendship* mention a youthful affection for and desire to imitate *On Friendship*, and Aelred's Prologue declares a desire to add Christian meaning to Cicero's ideas. In each of the three-part dialogues an older man instructs young men about the origins, nature, and end of friendship. *Spiritual Friendship* throughout develops Cicero's view that true friendship requires human virtue, though Aelred presents this view in a Christian and monastic context.

Cicero's definition of friendship is a core element of *Spiritual Friendship*, where it appears with slight variation four times: *Est enim amicitia nihil aliud nisi omnium diuinarum humanarumque rerum cum beneuolentia et caritate consensio* (Amic 6.20).[40] The definition appears three times in book one (1.1, 1.29, 1.46) and once in book three (3.8), always omitting *omnium*, "all." In its second use it appears with *consensio*, 'agreement', modified by *summa*, 'highest', and is explicitly linked to the community of the apostles as described in Acts 4:32. In the third instance, *summa* is absent, and *diuinarum humanarumque rerum* has become *in rebus humanis atque diuinis*. In book three, with this agreement declared to be the culmination of the four steps leading to the perfection of friendship, *summa* is again present, the phrasing returns to *diuinarum humanarumque rerum*, and *caritate* is modified by *quadam*, 'a certain'.

In each recurrence Aelred also alternates the order of the phrases. In the first citation, he pairs *rerum humanarum et diuinarum* with *beneuolentia et caritate*, and similarly in the third, when discussing the way friendship arises within human experience by likeness of life, habits, and interests, he pairs *rebus humanis atque diuinis* with *beneuolentia et caritate*. The second and fourth citations, however, link *rerum diuinarum et humanarum* to *caritate et beneuolentia*. The sequence thus always connects human things with *beneuolentia*, here translated as *good will*, and things divine with *caritate*. Thus Aelred integrally incorporates Cicero's definition of friendship while adapting it to fit the steps of his own argument.

## *Ambrose:* On the Duties of the Clergy

*On the Duties of the Clergy* (337/340) by Ambrose, bishop of Milan, also contributed significantly to the form and the theological substance of *Spiritual Friendship*. Ambrose's insistence on the importance of equality in friendship and his thrice-repeated explanation that friends may open their hearts to one another and share their deepest thoughts helped Aelred turn Cicero's flat characters

[40] "For friendship is nothing other than agreement in all things divine and human with benevolence and charity."

into living and individually characterized monks, friends of their teacher and of one another. By creating characters with recognizable personalities and a readiness to say what is on their minds and to treat one another as equals, Aelred imbued his treatise with the vitality of conversation among real friends.

Ambrose's explanation of the joys and obligations of friendship informs all three books of *Spiritual Friendship*, beginning with the words of the abbot-teacher, Father Aelred: "open your heart now and pour whatever you please into the ears of a friend" (1.1). With Ambrose's help, Aelred adjusts the Ciceronian model to portray friends' sharing with one another not only their questions but also their fears and hopes. All three of the young monks being instructed thus demonstrate the ease with which friends interact as they talk candidly with one another and with their abbot and teacher.

Ambrose's *Duties*—especially book three—also contributed significantly to Aelred's teaching. Four Ambrosian themes run through *Spiritual Friendship*: friends' ability to speak openly to one another, equality between friends, God's gift of *beneuolentia* or good will to the first humans, and the obligation of friends to correct one another. Adele Fiske, who has written briefly but usefully about Ambrose's contributions to Aelred, calls attention to Ambrose's treatment of friendship as a mutual bond, with individuals loving those who love them. Most important, she notes that for Ambrose and so for Aelred, "the source and nature of friendship is not in the intellect . . . but in the will, *beneuolentia*. Friendship is implicitly identified with *caritas* and, for all its human qualities, finds its model, *forma*, in Christ."[41]

Although Aelred relies on Ambrose throughout the work, he does so silently in the first two books, using *Duties* there as what John V. Fleming calls a supertext: "a secondary literary presence of a specially, and often uniquely, powerful authority. . . . it appears only by inference or implication."[42] Ambrose's statement that God placed good will in Adam and Eve surely guided Aelred's explanation of God's placing his own love of society in his creatures, so

[41] Fiske, "Survival," 114.
[42] Fleming, *Reason*, 69.

making friendship part of the order of creation. Similarly his repeated emphasis that friends should speak openly to one another echoes Ambrose's words on that point. Only in book three, however, does Aelred at last explicitly cite Ambrose and so acknowledge Ambrose's importance to his own thought. Here he insists on Ambrose's authority and influence, quoting long passages from *Duties* and referring to Ambrose by name six times, calling him once *beatus Ambrosius* (3.30) and once *sanctus Ambrosius* (3.83).

Perhaps Aelred becomes explicit about his debt to Ambrose in order to make sure that his audience—both the young monks of the dialogue and subsequent readers—share his reverence for this great saint. It is also possible, however, that by the time he wrote book three Aelred was so exhausted by a combination of abbatial responsibilities and poor health that instead of paraphrasing Ambrose he resorted to copying directly from the Rievaulx manuscript of *Duties*.[43]

## *Augustine:* The Confessions

The other patristic work on which Aelred relied heavily is Augustine's *Confessions* (397–398), which provided the personal confessional voice that controls so much of *Spiritual Friendship*. As Augustine proclaims God's action in bringing his chosen people from spiritual infancy to spiritual maturity, dramatizing the action in his own experience, Aelred uses what he presents as personal experience in the Prologue and then in the words of Fr. Aelred in the dialogue to dramatize friendship as a route to the knowledge and unbroken love of God. This approach allows his protagonist teacher to teach through recollection, authoritatively but humbly, as an old man speaking from long personal experience of close

[43] Oddly, few scholars have explored Aelred's use of Ambrose; see, however, Fiske, "Survival," 94–115; McGuire, *Friendship*, 42–47; and Squire, *Aelred*, 48–49 and *passim*. Ambrose's familiarity with Cicero's *On Friendship* is apparent throughout *Duties*, with the effect that it is frequently unclear which of the two is the immediate source for an Aelredian passage. See Fleming, *Reason*, 73–76.

friendships. Rather than like Laelius didactically lecturing, condescending to his listeners from an intellectual height, the teacher of this work is a friend among friends, conversing in the garden of his own life, inviting readers to participate in the apparently impromptu series of conversations. Further, Augustine's voice resonates throughout the work as several speakers use phrases from the *Confessions* to recount their own experience.

Augustine's reliance on Cicero's *On Friendship* also contributes to Aelred's treatise, as Aelred cites friends such as Orestes and Pylades, mentioned by both Cicero and Augustine. The recollection in the Prologue of *Spiritual Friendship* of the writer's youthful delight in Cicero recalls Augustine's "first conversion" to philosophy upon his discovery of Cicero's *Hortensius*, and the regret twice expressed in *Spiritual Friendship* at the absence of the name of Christ from *On Friendship* recalls Augustine's words about the lack of Christ's name from *Hortensius*: "Nothing could entirely captivate me, however learned, however neatly expressed, however true it might be, unless his name was in it" (Conf 3.4.7–8; Sp am Prol.5, 1.7).

Augustine also reinforced Ambrose's Christian explanation of friendship, insisting on the presence of God in true friendship. He defined the friendship that will not end as established in God: "No friends are true friends unless you, my God, bind them fast to one another through that love which is sown in our hearts by the Holy Spirit" (Conf 4.4.7). But Augustine offered a more pessimistic view than had Ambrose about the place of friendship in human life, portraying the friend as a rival to God and friendship as a seductive impediment on one's journey toward God (cf. Conf 4.4–7). In showing friendship to be sacramental, carrying within it God's own unity and leading to friendship with Christ in this life and in eternity, Aelred rejects Augustine's view that one must choose between human friendship and loving God. Further, though in the *Confessions* Augustine, like Cicero, begins his treatment of friendship with the death of a friend, so overshadowing his discussion with the reminder that death ends all friendships, Aelred begins with the lived experience of friendship and insists, citing both Scripture and Jerome, that friendship is eternal (e.g., 1.24). To exemplify this idea,

he first mentions the death of a friend only at the beginning of book two, and when the teacher in the dialogue twice recalls the death of friends, he both times declares that they continue to be present to him in the spirit (2.5, 3.119).

In his use of Augustine in *Spiritual Friendship*, Aelred tacitly establishes the writer of the Prologue and two of the participants in the dialogue as similar to Augustine in their youthful understanding of friendship. But whereas Aelred always cites Ambrose as a trusted authority on friendship, his allusions to Augustine suggest that Augustine misunderstood the nature of friendship, as one who by focusing on immature friendships failed to understand the divine origins and end of friendship. When Walter, one of the young monks, speaks at length about the kind of friendship he and his friend Gratian enjoy, calling it "the friendship Augustine describes," Fr. Aelred responds with both warning and invitation:

> This is a carnal friendship, especially belonging to adolescents, as were Augustine and the friend of whom we spoke. However, if you avoid childishness and dishonesty, and if nothing shameful spoils such friendship, then in hope of some richer grace this love can be tolerated as a kind of first step toward a holier friendship. (3.87)

### *Other Sources*

Aelred also reveals his familiarity with other authors both classical and patristic, quoting, for example, Euripides, Terence, Sallust, Seneca, Xenophon, Cassian, and Jerome. Although he cannot have known Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*, his two discussions of the various kinds of friendships and their origins and ends (1.45, 2.60) suggest a familiarity with the early portions of book eight of the *Ethics*, probably through Cicero or one of the many other authors on friendship whom he had read. From this wide range of learning he produces a synthesis, a new understanding of the value and power of the best of human friendships—and the possibilities present even in those that are not the best.

*Scripture*

Aelred also relies heavily on Scripture in *Spiritual Friendship*, as in all his works. Quotations from and allusions to thirty-seven biblical books appear,[44] and he supplements classical examples of friendship from Cicero with scriptural instances, including not only David and Jonathan (3.92–96) but also obscure pairs such as Amon and Jonadab (2.40). He also identifies two married couples—Adam and Eve, and Ruth and Boaz—as friends. Indeed much of Aelred's contemplative and eschatological understanding of friendship comes from the Bible, with numerous examples from the narratives of First and Second Samuel and the gospels. The abbot-teacher's statement that "the one who remains in friendship remains in God, and God in him" (1.70) insists on the sacramental nature of friendship in its echo of 1 John 4:16, and words from the Song of Songs and from Psalm 34:8 [33:9] are used to define the union with Christ that one reaches through loving one's friend (2.27; 3.133). Finally, following Ambrose, the abbot quotes John 15:14-15 to present Jesus as a friend to all who love him and as a model for human friendship: *I will no longer call you servants, but friends . . . because I have made known to you everything that I have heard from my Father* (3.83; cf. Ambrose, Off 3.135).

Of particular resonance in the work, underpinning the dialogue though never quoted, is Jesus' promise that "where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of you" (Mt 18:20). The echo of these words recurs throughout, from the abbot-teacher's affirmation of Christ's presence with him and the young monk Ivo to his final assurance of that reality for all the blessed in time to come, "when the friendship to which on earth we admit but few will pour out over all and flow back to God from all, for God will be all in all" (3.134; 1 Cor 15:28). Christ's promise is at the heart of Aelred's argument: human friendships begin with one or two friends, Christ making a third, then expand to include the many, as in the early church. Finally, continuing in Christ, friendship comes at last to perfection, including all in God's eternity.

[44] See Index A, page 143.

## Structure

*Spiritual Friendship* has a complex structure. Aelred articulates his theological thesis—that human friendship is fragile and frequently interrupted both by life's demands and by death but begins and ends in God—in a Ciceronian framework of three books. Fictionally, each of the three books begins within the daily reality of monastic experience, with the abbot moving from public responsibility into private conversation. The first two books end with the necessity of returning to daily life—a meal, the arrival of visitors. Although the approach of the monastery cellarer threatens to interrupt the third book, the conversation in fact continues unbroken, concluding only when the abbot-teacher speaks of the fulfillment of human friendship in beatitude.

Within this fictional structure Aelred explores different aspects of friendship, its origins and nature, its development, and practical concerns. Interwoven within and cutting across this three-part structure is a double movement from human friendship to eternity. The first movement, which explains the origin of friendship in God's creation, concludes with a promise that human friendship may make one a friend of God (1.1–2.14). It is a conversation between two people (though Ivo is replaced by Walter in book two), which ends as a third arrives. The second movement concentrates on the experience of human friendship, considering such practical aspects as ways to establish and maintain friendship, then rises to anticipation of the time when great company of friends will be one with one another and with God.

### *The Prologue*

The work begins with a Prologue, probably the last portion written, which takes place outside the three-part dramatic fiction of the dialogue, describing a completed work. It concludes with a request for intercession for the writer's sins and forgiveness for the work's inadequacies. Providing a narrative frame for the dialogue, the Prologue accomplishes four tasks: it establishes the persona of its writer, along with his history and qualifications for writing; it explains the purpose of the work itself as grounded in the writer's

experience; it acknowledges the writer's sources, so rooting itself in both the classical and the Christian views of friendship; and it provides an overview of the work's argument.

The writer of the Prologue is a monk whose character and personal history have led him to write the work that follows. He describes himself as one long experienced in human love and friendship, a former student and admirer of Cicero's *On Friendship*, one like the young Augustine portrayed in the *Confessions* and so familiar with Augustine's portrait that when he recalls his own youth he does so in Augustine's words. Further, although he recalls his pleasure in friendship during his youth and his memory that "nothing seemed sweeter to me . . . than to be loved and to love" (Prol.1), he confesses that as an adult he has found himself "wishing to love spiritually but not able to" (Prol.6).

Out of a familiarity with Christian works and a wish to find Christian meaning in Cicero's work, this monk has recently written a book of his own on the subject: "I decided to write on spiritual friendship and to set down for myself rules for a pure and holy love" (Prol.6). He indicates no interest in doing speculative or contemplative theology or in teaching anyone about friendship but proposes merely to attempt a personal synthesis of classical and Christian thought, one signaled by his naming Cicero within a web of Augustinian phrases. He is a scholarly figure, inherently solitary. Although he is distinct from Aelred, he may represent Aelred as Aelred saw himself, longing for more time to read and write and wishing for fewer distractions from reading and meditation (Prol.8). Having outlined the nature, origins, and contents of the work to follow, he drops from view, the Prologue closes, and a new fiction begins.

### *The Participants*

In rewriting Cicero's famous treatise on friendship, Aelred not only made the definition of friendship from that work the cornerstone of his explanation of the topic but constructed his own argument within the work's form and fictional context. Cicero had been explicit about the artifice involved in his shaping of *On Old Age*

and *On Friendship*: "as there I wrote as an old man to an old man about old age, so in this book I have written as a most dear friend to a friend about friendship."[45] Aelred borrowed and enhanced this approach for his own dialogue as one aspect of his tribute to Cicero. In *Spiritual Friendship* he thus wrote not merely as a friend speaking to friends but as an abbot with monks who are friends with him and with one another, all of them discussing the nature of friendship inside and outside monastic life.

Aelred further modified Cicero's model by characterizing each of the participants in the dialogue individually, with different roles in his explanation of the Christian understanding of friendship. Ivo, the questioner of book one, is young and timid, sure of the place of Christ in friendship and familiar with but unwilling to rely on Cicero. He is so eager to learn that he sometimes leaps ahead of his teacher and must be pulled back from hasty conclusions, as when he seeks to identify friendship and charity. But he is always deferential, sometimes agreeing with what the teacher says not because he actually understands but because the teacher says it (e.g., 1.12). He, like the writer of the Prologue, shares characteristics with the young Augustine recalled in *Confessions*. Although the abbot-teacher mentions the value of Cicero's work for understanding friendship, he seems to have no personal devotion to it. Ivo, however, recalls his own earlier attachment to the work but says that now such pagan works no longer nourish or enlighten him: "whatever I read or hear, however subtly argued, has neither flavor nor light without the salt of heavenly letters and the seasoning of that most sweet name" (1.7).[46]

Walter, the young monk who appears at the beginning of book two, is outspoken and insistent on having his own way. Having visibly shown his impatience at having to wait to be heard, he prods the abbot to return to his conversation with Ivo about friendship and to share his notes from that time. He repeatedly asks the abbot to repeat or summarize points he has not understood and is quick

[45] Cicero, Amic 1.5; ed. Falconer 1.112–13.

[46] Walter Daniel identifies Ivo as the monk of Wardon whom Aelred addressed in *Jesus as a Boy of Twelve* (Vita A ca. 32; CF 57:121).

to turn sarcasm on his friend Gratian when he joins the conversation. Walter is the most realized character in the dialogue, bringing to the discussion a combination of energy and irascibility. Perhaps not noticing the satirical humor of the portrait, or just pleased with Aelred's including him, Walter Daniel identifies Walter as himself in the *Vita Aelredi*.[47] Maurice Powicke commented on the mutual affection between Aelred of Rievaulx and this somewhat difficult monk as he reveals himself in the *Vita*, an affection visible in *Spiritual Friendship*:

> Walter was devoted to Ailred, but his devotion was not quite generous. He was too full of himself, quick to resent criticism, an irritable, perhaps a jealous man. One feels that Ailred felt a peculiar tenderness towards the "clerici scolares"; they were so quick, bright, sincere, loyal, and yet so touchy, so impulsive, so self-centred.[48]

The late arrival in book two, the appropriately named Gratian, is gentle and eager to please, grateful to the abbot for allowing him to join the discussion, eager to be on time on the second day of conversation, apparently untroubled by Walter's mockery, and indeed proud of and ready to praise Walter's quick wit and understanding. Like Ivo, Gratian recalls the young Augustine, as Walter indicates when he describes Gratian in the Augustinian echo of the Prologue: "his one ambition is to be loved and to love" (2.16).

The different characteristics of Ivo, Walter, and Gratian not only contribute to the appeal of the work as a whole but repeatedly return the conversation from abstract ideas about friendship to the concrete human experience of intertwined affection and conflict. Their repeated questions, comments, and requests for clarification also help to frame and organize the work, providing transitions to mark logical steps in the argument and introduce summaries of what has gone before.

[47] Vita A ca. 31; CF 57:121.
[48] Powicke, *Ailred*, 8.

Aelred creates a fourth character, the abbot-teacher, to whom he gives his own name and who appears to be a mild self-caricature, an abbot who seldom gets any time alone and who can rarely talk privately even with members of the community because of his responsibilities. Both the first and the second books begin as Fr. Aelred acknowledges the frustration felt by monks wishing to speak to him alone while he is occupied with business. He also alludes to the way his responsibilities interfere with his writing, noting the disappearance years ago of his unedited notes from the earlier conversation and implying that in the three days since they have been recovered he has not had time to read them.

Fr. Aelred differs in several ways from the writer of the Prologue. Unlike that yearning scholarly author, long ago acquainted with false friendships but still inexperienced with the true and with some time available for writing a book, this abbot is a practical, authoritative figure, busy with what he calls "the cares of office" and "vain honors and burdens" (3.116, 3.118) and constantly in demand by both visitors to his monastery and his own monks. He appears only moderately familiar with Cicero's *On Friendship*, quoting the work without credit (e.g., 1.19) referring to some Ciceronian sentences as "the pagan proverb" or coming from "foreign hands" (e.g., 2.13, 3.97). He has had a number of friendships since he became a monk, and while some of his friends have died, he feels the best of them still present in spirit. He identifies himself in conversation with Ivo as Ivo's friend, and he relies on his memories of two of his closest friends as models for the kind of friendship he extols in this dialogue.

Fr. Aelred's role in the work is to articulate Aelred's own views on friendship. He is much less sharply characterized than are the three young monks with whom he talks, because his task is not to increase the narrative verisimilitude but to teach. He brings to the conversation unquestioned authority, however, showing a combination of wide learning and insight that allows him firmly to reject some of the tentative ideas proposed by the young monks, ideas placed on their lips by Aelred the author in order that their teacher may respond to them appropriately. Aelred thus dramatizes his teaching through the interaction of the participants.

All three young monks at different times express anxiety about the kind of friendship Fr. Aelred presents to them. Ivo says he is terrified "by its astonishing height" (1.25), and Walter objects that "Such friendship is so sublime and perfect that I would not dare aspire to it" (3.85). Both Gratian and Walter say that they had had a different view of friendship from what Fr. Aelred has explained, and Walter hints that Fr. Aelred had presented it differently to Ivo. Walter, who describes his current friendship with Gratian in a lyrical passage echoing Augustine, makes it clear that he prefers that easier experience to spiritual friendship (2.28–29).

Both Walter and Gratian are speaking of what are commonly known in monastic culture as particular friendships, but as Pierre-André Burton has rightly said, Aelred's subject is not particular friendship, or at least only insofar as he can explain it as distinct from spiritual friendship, which may also begin with two friends, as in Eden, but then expands to include many, as in the early church, all united by the love of God.[49] Walter and Gratian's hesitation at the idea of spiritual friendship invites Fr. Aelred's repeated explanations of the difference between the two kinds of friendship, the carnal or adolescent and the spiritual, defined as the only true friendship, God's great blessing to humankind.

### *The Narrative Frame*

The dialogue opens as Fr. Aelred and Ivo begin a conversation apart from the community but, as Fr. Aelred declares, with Christ also present with them. Ivo asks Fr. Aelred, who is visiting from the monastery's motherhouse, to teach him about spiritual friendship. When Fr. Aelred demurs, arguing that Cicero has already adequately discussed the subject in *On Friendship*, Ivo asks for scriptural proof of Cicero's propositions. Fr. Aelred identifies himself and Ivo as friends and invites Ivo to speak freely: "Share with a friend all your thoughts and cares" (1.4). Although neither character mentions Ambrose here, this early insistence on friendship as a

[49] Burton, "Le traité," 202.

relationship in which friends may safely share their every thought indicates his importance to this conversation. The book ends with Ivo's return to the community for supper and the agreement to return to the conversation at a later time. Book one thus establishes its characters, its theme, and its principal sources, Cicero and, tacitly, Ambrose.

Book two undertakes a fresh exploration of the subject, now in the home monastery of Fr. Aelred, years after the conclusion of book one. Ivo has died since the earlier conversation; his replacement in this book is the irritable Walter, who complains about having been kept from speaking with the abbot by the press of visitors (2.2) and then requests that the abbot resume the former discussion, having learned that his long-lost record of that conversation has recently been found.[50] Fr. Aelred's willingness to allow Walter to read his earlier notes obviates the necessity of beginning the subject again with the new pupil; they can continue from where Fr. Aelred and Ivo left off.

As soon as Aelred has explained the value of friendship for joy in this life and enunciated the more important truth that a friend "becomes the friend of God" (2.14), another young monk, Gratian, enters, interrupting the conversation.

At this point the first stage of the double movement from friend to God culminates; the conversation accommodates the new participant by beginning anew. Walter now turns his attention from Fr. Aelred's teaching to welcome his friend, mockingly explaining

[50] Scholars have often taken this passage to mean that Aelred wrote *Spiritual Friendship* over many years, beginning before Ivo's death and resuming many years afterward, often dating the work according to this presumption. Dubois's Introduction says that Aelred began the work as a young man, put it aside, and returned to it only much later, after Ivo's death: "This indication [of interruption] is not a simple literary artifice, designed to drive the narrative; in fact the composition of the first conversation must have significantly preceded that of the two following" (*L'amitié*, xciii; cf. xxxii–xxxiii). Such an equation of literary fiction with historical reality is unpersuasive; James McEvoy rightly cites "the literary device of separating the first book from the second and third by a period of many years" (McEvoy, "Notes," 402).

Gratian's need for instruction in friendship: "Too eager for friendship, he risks being deceived by its likeness, accepting false for true, feigned for real, and carnal for spiritual friendship" (2.16).

This description anticipates Fr. Aelred's later distinction between carnal and spiritual friendship. Although Fr. Aelred at one point agrees to use the word *friendship* for other kinds of human attachment, whenever he speaks of the origin, nature, or benefits of friendship the reference is always to spiritual friendship. That fact explains the difficulty the young monks have with Fr. Aelred's explanation. As they have always understood friendship to be what they experience together, they find it almost impossible to replace that experience and all it has meant to them with this new higher insight.

After a bantering exchange with Walter, Gratian indicates his eagerness to join the conversation. Fr. Aelred now promises, for the second time in the dialogue, that "friendship is a step toward the love and knowledge of God" (2.18; cf. 1.14). For the rest of the book the three of them discuss practical concerns of forming and maintaining friendships. Interrupted by a summons to Fr. Aelred as new visitors arrive, they agree to resume on the following day.

While each of the first two books begins and ends in a specified time and place, the third begins in a much less clearly defined setting. The casual words at the beginning of the book and Gratian's allusion to the promise of resuming the conversation make it clear that the setting is the same monastery on the next day, but nothing indicates the circumstance surrounding this day's meeting. It ends even more clearly outside of time and place. Although Fr. Aelred says shortly before the end that the sun is about to set (3.128), no community needs call him away, and the work ends with a description of beatitude, with no return to the narrative frame.

## The Argument

Burton has explained *Mirror of Charity* and *Spiritual Friendship* as two halves of a diptych on human and divine love, with "each of the three books of the second treatise responding to each of the three books of the first." The first book of each, he says, considers

the order of creation, the second concerns the order of redemption, and the third deals with the concrete, placed within temporality.[51] Aelred certainly shapes *Spiritual Friendship* in this way, beginning with the origin of friendship, then moving to the fruit of friendship in this life, and concluding with practical concerns of making, testing, and interacting with friends, always closely linking the realities of human life to the divine.

### *Friendship and Creation*

In the first book of *Spiritual Friendship* Aelred argues that God instituted human friendship in creation and grounded it in Christ's presence. It therefore leads in this life directly to the experience of Christ and in the next to eternal friendship with God. Fr. Aelred goes beyond Cicero's definition to declare friendship eternal, explaining that if it ceases to exist it was never friendship, exemplifying such friendships by the Christian martyrs, "a thousand pairs of friends ready to die for each other" (1.28). He distinguishes among three kinds of human relationship commonly called friendship: the carnal, the worldly, and the spiritual, of which the last is its own reward: "Now the spiritual, which we call true friendship, is desired . . . for its own natural worth and for the affections of the human heart, so that its fruit and reward is nothing but itself" (1.45).

Fr. Aelred agrees with Cicero that friendship originated in nature, but he says that God is the author of nature and that all creatures participate in God's unity because God created them to do so. His explanation has three parts: God is the architect, the builder of the universe; God has placed within creation a principle of order according to which all creatures are joined and united by peace and fellowship; all creatures, shaped by God and ordered by God's agents, participate in divine order and so in God himself:

> Therefore, as the highest nature he fashioned all natures, set everything in its place, and with discernment allotted each its own time. Moreover, since he so planned it

[51] Burton, "Le traité," 198.

> eternally, he determined that peace should guide all his creatures and society unite them. Thus from him who is supremely and uniquely one, all should be allotted some trace of his unity. (1.53)

So Aelred declares friendship to be part of the order of creation, ranging from "a kind of love of companionship" in insentient creatures (1.54) through "a like will and affection" among the angels (1.56). Friendship is God's image in humankind; God's unity dwells in all creatures, but it exists only in rational creatures—humans and angels—as friendship.

As friendship begins with creation itself, the first human friends, Aelred concludes, were the first human beings. Like Ambrose, Aelred looks to creation for the origin of friendship and to equality as one of its essential elements:

> But as a more specific motivation for charity and friendship, this power created a woman from the very substance of the man . . . so that nature might teach that all are equal or, as it were, collateral, and that among human beings—and this is a property of friendship—there exists neither superior nor inferior. (1.57)

Thus in defining friendship as God's intention for humankind he insists on the nature of the relationship not only between friends, male or female, but between men and women independent of friendship.

In this absence of hierarchy and restriction, Aelred reaches beyond Cicero's understanding of friendship as a virtue limited, in life as in etymology, to men. Instead, Aelred is clear that women as well as men may be friends. In his first example of Christian friends, the martyrs, he identifies only one pair: "that maiden of Antioch" and "a soldier, who became her companion in martyrdom" (1.29). Although he shows friendship as open to men and women and therefore places no barrier to sexual relationship between friends who are married to each other, he bans what is shameful—*inhonestas*—from true friendship (e.g., 3.87). His inclusion of married couples

in his understanding of friendship anticipates his statement in *On the Soul* on the sanctifying value of eucharist, baptism, and marriage: "by this triple sacrament not only is the soul sanctified, but also the body, and by these mysteries it is prepared for future glory."[52] So Aelred links his teaching on friendship to the common Cistercian theme of the postlapsarian retention of God's image.[53]

### *Is God Friendship?*

In book one Aelred twice explicitly rejects a potential misunderstanding about the relationship between charity and friendship. His care to distinguish the two, however, has regularly misled the incautious. When Ivo wonders whether friendship and charity are the same, Fr. Aelred quickly rejects that correspondence, explaining the difference in terms of human experience:

> IVO. Are we to conclude, then, that there is no distinction between friendship and charity?
>
> AELRED. On the contrary, the greatest distinction! . . . By the law of charity we are ordered to welcome into the bosom of love not only our friends but also our enemies. But we call friends only those to whom we have no qualm about entrusting our heart and all its contents. (1.31–32)

At the end of the book Ivo, on behalf of the larger audience of the work, raises the question again, now in theological and cosmological terms. For a second time Fr. Aelred rejects the identification. As wisdom is one of the names of God, Ivo suggests, wisdom is equivalent to God. Hence if friendship is the same as wisdom, as Fr. Aelred has tentatively proposed, friendship must also be equivalent to God: "To what does this lead? Should I say of friendship what John, the friend of Jesus, said of charity, 'God is friendship'?" (1.69).

[52] Anima 1.60; CCCM 1:704; CF 22:66.
[53] On this Cistercian theme, see Bell, *Image*.

The syllogism is logical, but Fr. Aelred has already rejected it once. In doing so again, he now appeals to both reason and Scripture: "This is novel indeed and lacks the authority of the scriptures." As an acceptable and less troubling inference, however, he substitutes the rest of the verse that Ivo has in mind: "The rest of that verse about charity, however, I surely do not hesitate to attribute to friendship, because *the one who remains in* friendship *remains in God, and God in him*" (1.70; 1 Jn 4:16). So while Aelred continues to insist that through friendship men and women participate in God and partake of God's unity, he rejects the temptation to equate God with friendship, an equation that would make God identical with and thereby limited to friendship.

Frustratingly, the misunderstanding that Aelred attempted to avoid by twice explicitly rejecting the identity of friendship and charity is today the treatise's best-remembered and most frequently quoted idea; among others, Jean Leclercq, Amédée Hallier, Jean Dubois, Aelred Squire, Brian Patrick McGuire, and E. D. H. Carmichael all credit it to Aelred, though Carmichael recognizes it as Ivo's faulty coinage, not his teacher's: "Aelred responds positively but with circumspection. Having elicited this exclamation from Ivo he reserves a degree of independence in his own persona."[54]

But Fr. Aelred does not merely reserve a degree of independence from Ivo's phrasing; Ivo is the pupil, the questioner, the one seeking to learn from the abbot. Fr. Aelred corrects Ivo's misunderstanding, gently but surely, and it is he, not Ivo, who speaks for Aelred in denying Ivo's error. Burton has suggested that while Aelred is himself drawn to the equivalence, he denies it because to accept it would limit God: "That is an intellectual audacity that Aelred would love to be able to permit himself. Voluntarily, however, he forbids himself to take that step, certainly first for the reason of the authority of Scripture, but also because that would unduly restrain God in his power of love." For Aelred, he goes on, friendship is not charity and so is not God; rather, it is "a stage or a degree that gives access to the large horizons of universal brotherhood and to the infinite, to union with God."[55] The answer to Ivo's repeated inquiry,

[54] Carmichael, *Friendship*, 85.
[55] Burton, "Le traité," 202.

then, is a simple no, a recognition that while God created friendship as part of human experience and allows himself to be met and loved forever through friendship, he remains always other.

### *The Fruit and Excellence of Friendship*

While the first book of *Spiritual Friendship* explores the nature and origin of friendship, the second concerns its fruit and excellence, now considering friendship in lived experience. In book one Aelred follows Cicero in declaring of true friendship that "its fruit and reward is nothing but itself" (1.45). In the second book, however, he slightly modifies that position: "Friendship bears fruit in our present life and in the next" (2.9).

The human benefits of friendship that Fr. Aelred describes are similar to those offered by Cicero. Indeed he quotes Cicero to describe the practical benefits of friendship: "Friendship so cushions adversity and chastens prosperity that among mortals almost nothing can be enjoyed without a friend" (2.10). At once, however, he translates Cicero's abstraction into affective lyricism:

> But how happy, how carefree, how joyful you are if you have a friend with whom you may talk as freely as with yourself,[56] to whom you neither fear to confess any fault nor blush at revealing any spiritual progress, to whom you may entrust all the secrets of your heart and confide all your plans. And what is more delightful than so to unite spirit to spirit and so to make one out of two? (2.11)[57]

Somewhat later he mentions some of the other benefits one receives from a friend: "the advantages of counsel in uncertainty, consolation in adversity, and other help of this kind" (2.61).

As in *Mirror of Charity*, Aelred defines human friendship as prompted jointly by reason and affection, grounded in love. He

[56] Cicero, Amic 6.22.

[57] Cf. Augustine, Conf 4.6.11; CCSL 27:45; Pine-Coffin, *Confessions*, 78; Ambrose, Off 3.131.

insists that "friendship can last only among the good" (2.41), but he is restrained in his definition of the good: "I call those good who within the limits of our mortal life live sober, upright, and godly lives in this world" (2.43). Anxious lest even such a moderate restriction on friendship should cause his audience to give up on seeking spiritual friendship, he declares that it is vital to human happiness, distinguishes humans from animals, and is God's greatest blessing to humankind. Those who reject friendship, Fr. Aelred says (again quoting Cicero), harm themselves, rejecting their humanity: "those who banish friendship from life seem to pluck the sun from the universe" (2.49). They may be called "not human beings but beasts" (2.52).

### *Choosing Friends*

In the third book Aelred considers the origins of specific friendships, not now in the bright light of creation but in the individual case, the practical situation, where friendship is experienced as arising out of human relationship. Fr. Aelred recommends four steps for building friendship: choosing, testing, and accepting the friend, and then perfecting the friendship. These steps, he says, are necessary for one's own happiness, not for the well-being of the other. Unlike charity, which obeys the commandment to love one's neighbor, one desires a friend in order to satisfy one's own longing. Love of oneself makes one love one's friend; friendship is ultimately the love of self. But God, who placed his own unity in the first humans as a desire for friendship, ensures that the expression of love for the self results in love for the friend as well.

Whereas previously Fr. Aelred has taught through a combination of logic and authority, now he relies on experience, with concrete instances from his own life. He portrays his monastic community as a foretaste of beatitude (3.82) and recalls two unnamed and now-departed friends of his early monastic life as exemplifying all he has said about friendship. He then returns from the specific to the general and from the human to the divine, showing their interconnectedness, the way spiritual friendship leads directly to friendship with God. So he leaves behind arguments based in logic and

experience to teach from the perspective of faith alone, explaining beatitude as that future when limits, interruptions, and anxiety will no longer trouble humans in relationship with one another, for friendship will be universal and eternal as all find union with one another and with God.

As Fr. Aelred's memories end, the work concludes, still in his voice, with an exhortation to the audience summarizing all that has gone before. After an encomium on the benefits of the love of the friend in this world, Fr. Aelred again points to the contemplative union to which such love leads:

> Thus rising from that holy love with which a friend embraces a friend to that with which a friend embraces Christ, one may take the spiritual fruit of friendship fully and joyfully into the mouth, while looking forward to all abundance in the life to come. (3.134)

### *Taste and See*

As a resonant motif of the sacramental nature of friendship and of the promise that spiritual friendship begins and ends in Christ, Aelred threads throughout the work a compelling imagery of food and drink, tacitly insisting that friendship involves the whole person: body and mind, senses and spirit. Friendship is not, he implies, limited to reason or emotion; it is somatic, experiential, sensuous, uniting all of a person to friends and to God. Ten times in the work variants of the word *sapor*, 'taste', appear, with reference to tasting Scripture, conversation with friends, and friendship itself. The first book refers to "the honeycombs of holy Scripture" and "the mellifluous name of Christ" (1.7), and the second book compares the imminent conversation on friendship to a spiritual meal: "Perhaps the greater keenness of your previous desire will make this collation of ours, like food or drink for the spirit, all the more rewarding" (2.3). A little later, in the brief dialogic interval just at the center of the work, the monk Gratian enlarges on the theme: "But continue what you began, Father, and for my sake put something on the table for me so that I may be at least a little refreshed,

if not satisfied like my brother here, who after sharing countless courses now fastidiously welcomes me, as if to the leftovers" (2.17).

While through most of the work the language of tasting, eating, and drinking remains metaphorical, its insistent use recalls that favorite Cistercian verse from Psalm 34:8 [33:9]: "Taste and see that the Lord is good." This is eucharistic language, which reinforces the great theme of the work, the promise that God is present within human friendship and that human friendship leads in this life and the next to friendship with Christ. By the end of book three the sweetness of human friendship has become the sweetness of friendship with Christ and the sweetness of Christ himself: "Then sometimes suddenly, imperceptibly, affection melts into affection, and somehow touching the sweetness of Christ nearby, one begins to taste how dear he is and experience how sweet he is" (3.133).[58]

## Notes on the Translation

This new translation of Aelred's *Spiritual Friendship* by the well-known translator of Cistercian Fathers, Fr. Lawrence C. Braceland, SJ, replaces M. E. Laker's 1977 Cistercian Publications translation. Its notes and bibliography incorporate recent scholarship on Aelred's great work. Fr. Braceland brought to this as to all his translations not only a solid Latinity but a *joie d'esprit* that brings twelfth-century writers to life for contemporary readers, and his profound familiarity with classical authors reveals itself in the notes of this volume. One of his particular achievements here is the tightening and reshaping of Aelred's frequently sprawling Latin syntax, sharpening and enhancing Aelred's meaning.

Three particular problems face any translator of *Spiritual Friendship*. One is the difficulty of rendering it in inclusive language, grammatically representing Aelred's teaching that women as well as men enjoy friendship. Readers have sometimes wrongly assumed that Aelred must have accepted the views of his classical and patristic predecessors, who considered that only men could be friends,

[58] On eucharistic language in Cistercian spirituality see Dutton, "Eat" and "Intimacy."

overlooking Aelred's identification of Eve, Ruth, "the young woman of Antioch," and the thousands of unnamed women among the martyrs and the members of the early church. As Aelred's dialogue is set within a monastery, has only male participants, and usually focuses on the experiences of individuals—especially of David and Jonathan—the translator's usual solution of turning singular nouns and pronouns to plurals is here rarely possible. No reader of Fr. Braceland's translation should be misled by masculine pronouns into concluding that Aelred limited friendship to men.

A second crux in this work is the well-known difficulty of translating *affectus*, that word of such importance to Cistercian spirituality. Although the obvious and frequently accurate translation is *affection*, with its emphasis on personal emotion, in many cases such a rendering represents a modern rather than a twelfth-century sensibility; for that reason, Fr. Braceland often translates *affectus* as *attachment*. But especially in book three, Aelred tends to insist on the development of a tender emotion between friends, specifically distinct from but able to be governed by *ratio*, 'reason'. In those cases the translation reads *affection* to acknowledge the word's emotional weight. In the first instance of both translations a marginal note signals that the Latin reads *affectus*; subsequently both *attachment* and *affection* always represent Aelred's *affectus*.

Cicero's definition of friendship poses another translation problem. The familiarity of *caritas* with its well-known range of meanings means that Cicero's *caritate* is easily translated as *charity*. But what about *beneuolentia*? In twenty-first-century English, *benevolence* does not convey the meaning intended by either Cicero or Aelred, having lost its etymological emphasis on willing good. Fr. Braceland has thus captured the literal meaning of the Latin noun in both Cicero's definition and later discussions of that definition, rendering *beneuolentia* as *good will*, as is indicated by a marginal gloss beside the first occurrence of the definition.

## Acknowledgments

I am most grateful for the guidance I received from the late Fr. Lawrence C. Braceland, SJ, who shared with me his understanding of Aelred and of *Spiritual Friendship*, guiding me in my

commentary on the text, its sources, and twentieth-century criticism. I also thank David N. Bell, E. Rozanne Elder, Rebekah Meiser, Domenico Pezzini, Fr. Mark Scott, OCSO, and especially John R. Sommerfeldt for their generous assistance. And, as always, I thank my children, David and Emily Stuckey, and my beloved husband and dearest friend, Tom Lenaghan, for their unwavering love and patience with me and with Aelred.

Finally, I am forever indebted to the late Father Chrysogonus Waddell, OCSO, for his music, his learning, his enthusiasm, and his knowledge, all bound up in friendship. Father Chrysogonus died on the first Sunday of Advent, 2008. I, with so many others, mourn his departure from among us while rejoicing in his entrance into the light of eternity. Cistercian Publications dedicates this volume to his memory and in thanksgiving for his grace-filled life. *Requiescat in glorie*.

Marsha L. Dutton
The Feast of Saint Benedict, 2009

# Spiritual Friendship

# Here Begins the Prologue

## Of the Venerable Abbot Aelred to the Book on Spiritual Friendship

**1.** *While I was still a boy at school*,[1] the charm of my companions gave me the greatest pleasure. Among the usual faults that often endanger youth, my mind surrendered wholly to affection[2] and became devoted to love. Nothing seemed sweeter to me, nothing more pleasant, nothing more valuable than to be loved and to love.[3]

**2.** Wavering among various loves and friendships,[4] my spirit began to be tossed this way and that[5] and, ignorant of the law of true friendship, was often beguiled by its mirage. At last a volume of Cicero's *On Friendship* fell into my hands. Immediately it seemed to me both invaluable for the soundness of its views and attractive for the charm of its eloquence.

**3.** Though I considered myself unworthy of such friendship, I was grateful to find a model to which I could recall my quest for many loves and affections. When my good Lord was pleased to

[1] Augustine, Conf 1.11.17.

[2] Lat *affectus.*

[3] Cf. Augustine, Conf 2.2.2, 3.1.1; cf. Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics* 8.5; cf. Aelred, Spec car 1.25.71; cf. Aelred, Sp am 2.161, 3.81, 3.127.

[4] Cf. Augustine, Conf 10.33.50.

[5] Cf. Jerome, Ep 133.4; cf. Aelred, Iesu 30; cf. Aelred, S 75.48.

restore the wanderer,[6] to lift the fallen,[7] and to heal the leprous with his saving touch,[8] I abandoned the promise of the world[9] and entered a monastery.

**4.** I immediately devoted myself to the study of the sacred writings, though previously, with eyes bleary and accustomed to the carnal gloom, I had not been able to see even their literal meaning. I began to acquire a taste for the sacred Scriptures and found that the slight knowledge the world had transmitted to me was insipid by comparison. Then I remembered what I had read in Cicero about friendship, but to my surprise it did not taste the same to me.[10]

**5.** Even at that time, nothing not honeyed with the honey of the sweet name of Jesus, nothing not seasoned with the salt of the sacred Scriptures, wholly won my affection.[11] Musing on Cicero's thoughts again and again, I began to wonder whether perhaps they might be supported by the authority of the Scriptures.

**6.** But when I read the many passages on friendship in the writings of the holy fathers, wishing to love spiritually but not able to, I decided to write on spiritual friendship and to set down for myself rules for a pure and holy love.

**7.** This small treatise, then, is divided into three little books. In the first I explain the nature of friendship and what was its origin and cause. In the second I note its fruit and excellence. In the third I disclose, as far as possible, how and among whom friendship can be kept unbroken to the end.

**8.** May anyone who makes progress by reading this treatise thank God and plead with Christ for mercy for my sins. But may anyone who considers what I have written superfluous or useless pardon my misfortune, for my responsibilities compelled me to restrain the flow of my thoughts in these meditations.

## Here ends the Prologue

[6] Cf. Augustine, Conf 2.10.18.
[7] Cf. Ps 145 [144]:14; cf. Ps 146 [145]:8; cf. Augustine, Conf 11.31.41.
[8] Cf. Mt 8:2; cf. Lk 7:22.
[9] Cf. Augustine, Conf 6.11.19.
[10] Cf. Augustine, Conf 3.5.9; cf. Aelred, Sp am 1.7.
[11] Augustine, Conf 3.4.8; cf. Bernard, SC 15.3.6.

# Book One

## Here Begins the First Book on Spiritual Friendship

**1.** AELRED. You and I are here, and I hope that Christ is between us as a third.[1] Now no one else is present to disturb the peace or to interrupt our friendly conversation. No voice, no noise invades our pleasant retreat. Yes, most beloved, *open your heart* now and pour whatever you please into the ears of a friend.[2] Gratefully let us welcome the place, the time, and the leisure.

**2.** Not long ago while I was relaxing among a crowd of brothers, on every side everyone was adding to the din. One was questioning and another debating. One was raising questions about Scripture, another about ethics, a third about the vices, and a fourth about the virtues. You alone were silent. Suddenly raising your head in the group, as you were about to add some remark, your voice seemed to stick in your throat. Then lowering your head, you fell silent. Withdrawing a short distance from us but again returning, you looked crestfallen. From all this I was led to conclude that, hating crowds and preferring privacy, you hesitated to express what was on your mind.

[1] Cf. Mt 18:20.
[2] Cf. Ambrose, Off 3.129, 3.132, 3.136; cf. Aelred, Inst incl 28.

**3.** IVO. You are right. I am most grateful to realize that you are concerned about your son. Nothing but the spirit of charity has opened my mind and its thoughts to you. Would that your kindness might grant me this favor, that whenever you visit your sons who are here I might have recourse to you alone just once, with no others present, and lay bare without interruption the ardor of my heart.[3]

**4.** AELRED. I shall gladly comply. I am delighted to see that you are not prone to empty and idle talk, that you always introduce something useful and necessary for your progress. Speak then without anxiety. Share with a friend all your thoughts and cares, that you may have something either to learn or to teach, to give and to receive, to pour out and to drink in.

**5.** IVO. I am ready not to teach but to learn, not to give but to receive, not to pour out but to drink in, as my youth prescribes, my inexperience demands, and my monastic profession counsels. But lest on these distinctions I should unwisely waste the time needed for other matters, would you teach me something about spiritual friendship? What is it? What values does it offer? What is its beginning and its end? Can friendship exist among all persons? If not among all, then among whom? How can it remain unbroken and so without any troubling disagreement reach a blessed end?

**6.** AELRED. I wonder why you think I should be asked these questions. Obviously all of them were treated more than adequately by the greatest teachers of old. I wonder why especially, when you have spent your boyhood on studies of this kind and have read Tullius Cicero's volume *On Friendship*, where in an engaging style he fully treated everything that seems to relate to friendship and gave a sort of outline of some of its laws and precepts.

**7.** IVO. His volume is not too unknown to me, since at one time I took the greatest delight in it. But since the day that some drops of sweetness began to flow my way from the honeycombs of holy Scripture, and when the mellifluous name of Christ claimed my affection for itself, whatever I read or hear, however subtly

[3] Cf. Ambrose, Off 3.129, 3.132, 3.136.

argued, has neither flavor nor light without the salt of heavenly letters and the seasoning of that most sweet name.[4]

**8.** Therefore I would like such propositions as are in harmony with reason, or others whose usefulness your explanations reveals, to be proved to me by the authority of Scripture. Similarly I want to be more fully taught about the right kind of friendship between us, which should begin in Christ, be maintained according to Christ, and have its end and value referred to Christ. It is obvious indeed that Cicero was ignorant of the virtue of true friendship, since he was completely ignorant of Christ, who is the beginning and end of friendship.

**9.** AELRED. I admit that you have convinced me up to this point, that as if not valuing my own ability on those questions, I will not so much teach you as confer with you. You yourself have disclosed the way for both of us, when at the very entrance to our inquiry you lit that brightest of lamps, which prevents us from straying and leads us to the fixed end of the question proposed.

**10.** What statement about friendship can be more sublime, more true, more valuable than this: it has been proved that friendship must begin in Christ, continue with Christ, and be perfected by Christ. Come, now: propose what in your opinion should be the first question about friendship.

IVO. I think we should first discuss what friendship is, lest we appear to be painting on a void, not knowing what should guide and organize our talk.

**11.** AELRED. Is Cicero's definition not an adequate beginning for you? "*Friendship is agreement in things human and divine, with good will and charity*."[5]

**12.** IVO. If his definition suffices for you, it's good enough for me.

**13.** AELRED. Shall we grant, then, that those who share the same view on everything human and divine and have the same intentions, with good will and charity, have reached the perfection of friendship?

[4] Cf. Aelred, Sp am Prol.4–5; cf. Augustine, Conf 3.4.8.

[5] Lat *benevolentia et caritas*; Cicero, Amic 6.20.

**14.** IVO. Why not? But I don't see what that pagan wished to indicate by the words *charity* and *good will*.

**15.** AELRED. Perhaps by charity he meant attachment[6] of the spirit but by good will the translation of that attachment into good works. For in everything human and divine, charity between two persons is dear to their spirits. That is, it ought to be a sweet and precious agreement. The practice of good works in exterior things also expresses pleasure and good will.[7]

**16.** IVO. I admit that for me this definition would be satisfying enough, if I did not suspect that it suited not only pagans and Jews but also unjust Christians. I also admit my conviction that true friendship cannot exist between those who live without Christ.

**17.** AELRED. Later on it will become clear enough to us whether the definition fails to some extent either by defect or by excess and whether it should be rejected or accepted as the mean between extremes. From the definition itself, however, though you may find it less than perfect, grasp as well as you can the meaning of friendship.

**18.** IVO. I hope I'm not being a nuisance if I tell you that this definition is insufficient unless you explain the meaning of the word itself.

**19.** AELRED. I'll humor you, but you must pardon my ignorance and not force me to teach what I do not know. In my opinion, from *amor* comes *amicus* and from *amicus amicitia*. That is, from the word for *love* comes that for *friend*, and from *friend*, *friendship*.[8] Now love is an attachment of the rational soul. Through love, the soul seeks and yearns with longing to enjoy an object. Through love, the soul also enjoys that object with interior sweetness and embraces and cherishes it once it is acquired. I have explained the soul's attachments and emotions as clearly and carefully as I could in a work you know well enough, *The Mirror of Charity*.[9]

[6] Lat *affectus.*
[7] Cf. Aelred, Inst incl 27.
[8] Cicero, Amic 8.26.
[9] Aelred, Spec car, esp. 3.6.39–109.

**20.** Furthermore, a friend is called the guardian of love, or, as some prefer, the *guardian of the soul* itself.[10] Why? Because it is proper for my friend to be the guardian of mutual love or of my very soul, that he may in loyal silence protect all the secrets of my spirit and may bear and endure according to his ability anything wicked he sees in my soul. For the friend will rejoice with my soul rejoicing, grieve with it grieving,[11] and feel that everything that belongs to a friend belongs to himself.[12]

**21.** Friendship is that virtue, therefore, through which by a covenant of sweetest love our very spirits are united, and *from many are made one*.[13] Hence even the philosophers of this world placed friendship not among the accidents of mortal life but among the virtues that are eternal.[14] Solomon seems to agree with them in this verse from Proverbs: "*a friend loves always*."[15] So he obviously declares that friendship is eternal if it is true, but if it ceases to exist, then although it seemed to exist, it was not true friendship.

**22.** IVO. In our reading, then, why do we find that grave enmities have risen between the greatest friends?[16]

**23.** AELRED. In its own place, God willing, we will discuss that more fully. Meanwhile, I want you to believe two truths: that no friend ever existed who could harm anyone he had once welcomed into friendship, and that a person who even if injured ceases to cherish someone he has once loved had not tasted the delights of true friendship, because *a friend loves always*.[17]

**24.** Though challenged, though injured, though tossed into the flames, though nailed to a cross, *a friend loves always*.[18] And as our Jerome says, "*a friendship that can end was never true*."[19]

[10] Isidore, *Etymologiae* 10.4.
[11] Rom 12:15.
[12] Cf. Acts 4:32.
[13] Cicero, Amic 25.92; cf. Cicero, Amic 21.81; cf. Ambrose, Off 3.134; cf. Aelred, Spec car 3.6.39; cf. Bernard, Ep 53.
[14] Cf. Cicero, Amic 9.32.
[15] Prv 17:17.
[16] Cicero, Amic 10.34.
[17] Prv 17:17.
[18] Prv 17:17.
[19] Jerome, Ep 3.6.

**25.** IVO. Since there is so much perfection in true friendship, no wonder those whom the ancients praised as true friends were so few. From so many centuries past, as Cicero says, legend extols *only three or four pairs of friends*![20] But if in our own Christian times friends are so few, I seem to be slaving in vain to acquire this virtue, for I am terrified now by its astonishing height, and I almost despair of reaching it.

**26.** AELRED. As a wise man once said, "*for great achievements, the effort is great in itself.*"[21] Hence it is the mark of a virtuous mind always to think steep and lofty thoughts, either to reach the desired objectives or to understand and grasp more clearly what should be desired. Indeed we should believe that one who by understanding virtue has discovered how far he is beneath it has made no little progress.

**27.** Yet no Christian should despair of acquiring any virtue whatsoever, because in the Gospel the divine voice daily rings in our ears: "*seek and you shall find*" and so forth.[22] No wonder the followers of true virtue were rare among the heathen, for they were ignorant of *the Lord and giver of the virtues*,[23] of whom it was written, *the Lord of virtues, he is the king of glory*.[24]

**28.** In proof of this statement I shall readily present you not with three or four but with a thousand pairs of friends ready *to die for each other*, thanks to their mutual trust, which people long ago celebrated or invented in Orestes or Pylades as a great miracle.[25] According to Cicero's definition, you would agree that those people excelled in the virtue of true friendship of whom it was said that "*the multitude of believers was of one heart and one soul. No one claimed any belonging as his or her own, but all was held in common.*"[26]

[20] Cicero, Amic 4.15.

[21] Cf. Julianus Pomerius, *De vita contemplativa* 1.Prol.2; cf. Pseudo-Seneca, *Monita* 97.

[22] Mt 7:7; Jn 16:24.

[23] Cf. *Leonine Sacramentary* 38.1229.

[24] Ps 24 [23]:10.

[25] Cf. Cicero, Amic 7.24; cf. Augustine, Conf 4.6.11.

[26] Acts 4:32.

**29.** How could the highest *agreement in things divine and human, with charity and good will*,[27] fail to exist among those who were *of one heart and one soul*? How many martyrs laid down their lives for the brethren? How many spared neither cost nor toil nor their bodies' torture? I suppose that often, not without tears, you have read of that maiden of Antioch who was delivered from among prostitutes by the glorious deceit of a soldier, who became her companion in martyrdom after having found himself the guardian of her virginity in the brothel.[28]

**30.** I could cite for you many examples of such heroism, if sheer numbers did not prohibit it and the mass of material impose silence on me. For Christ Jesus preached and spoke, *and they were multiplied beyond counting*.[29] He also said, "*no one has greater love than to lay down his life for his friends*."[30]

**31.** IVO. Are we to conclude, then, that there is no distinction between friendship and charity?

**32.** AELRED. On the contrary, the greatest distinction! Divine authority commands that many more be received to the clasp of charity than to the embrace of friendship. By the law of charity we are ordered to welcome into the bosom of love not only our friends but also our enemies.[31] But we call friends only those to whom we have no qualm about entrusting our heart and all its contents,[32] while these friends are bound to us in turn by the same inviolable law of loyalty and trustworthiness.

**33.** IVO. How many living agreeably together in the world in uninhibited vice are linked by a similar pact! They find the bond of such a friendship pleasant and sweet beyond the delights of this passing world! **34.** I trust you will not mind distinguishing spiritual friendship from other friendships. In my view, only one among so many kinds of friendship should be called spiritual, to distinguish

[27] Cf. Cicero, Amic 6.20.
[28] Cf. Ambrose, *De virginibus* 2.4.22–32; cf. Aelred, Inst incl 16.
[29] Ps 40:5 [39:6].
[30] Jn 15:13.
[31] Cf. Mt 5:44; cf. Lk 6:27-35.
[32] Cf. Ambrose, Off 3.129, 3.132, 3.136.

it from the others. Somehow the spiritual is obscured by association with other friendships, which rush in and noisily greet those who seek and desire a spiritual friendship. If by comparison you clarify the meaning of spiritual friendship and hence make it more desirable for us, you may more firmly awaken and enkindle our desire to achieve it.

**35.** AELRED. Those who share a vested interest in vice falsely claim the fair name of friendship, because one who fails to love is not a friend. One who does not love a comrade loves iniquity, for *one who loves iniquity* does not love but *hates his own soul*,[33] and one who does not love his own soul will certainly be unable to love the soul of a comrade.[34]

**36.** I conclude, then, that those who delight in the name of friendship alone are cheated by its likeness, not sustained by the truth. But when so much sweetness is experienced in such empty friendship, which lust pollutes, avarice corrupts, or wantonness defiles, just imagine the sweetness to be experienced in this other friendship: the more righteous, chaste, and open it is, the more it is carefree, enjoyable, and happy.

**37.** Because of a similarity of feelings in our attachments, however, let us allow even those other friendships that are not genuine to be called friendships, provided that they are distinguished by unmistakable signs from a friendship that is spiritual and therefore genuine.

**38.** Let us call one friendship carnal, another worldly, and the third spiritual. The carnal is created by a conspiracy in vice, the worldly is enkindled by hope of gain, and the spiritual is cemented among the righteous by a likeness of lifestyles and interests.[35]

**39.** The real origin of carnal friendship comes from an affection that, exposing *its body to every wayfarer* like a harlot,[36] is led now here, now there, by the lust of its own ears and eyes.[37] Through

[33] [Ps 10:6].
[34] Cf. Aelred, Spec car 3.2.3–4.
[35] Cf. Cassian, Coll 16.2.
[36] Cf. Ez 16:25; Jerome, Comm Ez 4.16.15.
[37] Cf. Nm 15:39.

these windows, images of beautiful bodies or of voluptuous objects spring to a mind that thinks it bliss to enjoy them at will, though they are less enjoyable without a companion.

**40.** Then by a gesture, a nod, a word, or an act of deference, spirit is captivated by spirit, one is set afire by another, and they are fused into one, so that once this degrading pact is struck, each will perform or endure for the other any possible crime or sacrilege. They consider nothing sweeter, they judge nothing more equitable than this friendship, for they think that *to wish and not wish the same things*[38] is imposed on them by the laws of friendship.

**41.** Therefore this friendship is neither undertaken with thoughtfulness nor sanctioned by judgment nor guided by reason but is blown in all directions by gusts of affection. Not observing moderation, not concerned with honesty, disregarding profit and loss, it rushes into everything without forethought or discretion but with frivolous excess. Hence, as if hounded by the Furies, it either exhausts itself or disappears into the mist from which it was formed.[39]

**42.** Worldly friendship, begotten of greed for temporal goods or for wealth, is always marked by fraud and deception. Here nothing is reliable, constant, or fixed, for worldly friendship fluctuates with fortune and chases coin.[40]

**43.** Hence it is written, "*there is a friend who is one when the time suits but will not stand by in your day of trouble*."[41] Remove his hope of reward, and at once he ceases to be your friend. Someone has satirized such friendship in a neat verse:

*One who comes in good fortune and goes in misfortune*
*Loves not the person but the person's purse*.[42]

**44.** The beginning of this perverted friendship, however, often entices people to share true friendship. Those who first make a pact in the hope of common gain reach a summit of pleasurable

[38] Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 20.4.
[39] Cf. Dante Alighieri, *Inferno* 5.28–142.
[40] Cf. Qo 9:11-12; cf. "The Wanderer" ll. 106–10.
[41] Si 6:8.
[42] Ovid, *Ex Ponto* 2.3.23–24.

agreement, if only in human affairs, as long as they remain true to themselves with this *mammon of iniquity*.[43] In no way, however, should this be called a genuine friendship, for it begins and continues in hope of temporal gain.

**45.** Now the spiritual, which we call true friendship, is desired not with an eye to any worldly profit or for any extraneous reason, but for its own natural worth and for the emotion of the human heart, so that its fruit and reward is nothing but itself.[44]

**46.** Hence our Lord says in the Gospel, "*I appointed you to go and to bear fruit*," that is, to "*love one another*."[45] For one goes by making progress in this true friendship, and one bears fruit by savoring the sweetness of its perfection. So spiritual friendship is begotten among the righteous by likeness of life, habits, and interests,[46] that is, *by agreement in things human and divine, with good will and charity*.[47]

**47.** Now I think this definition adequately expresses friendship, provided that by our mention of charity, as is our habit, we mean to exclude every vice from friendship and provided that by good will we mean the delightful awakening within us of the emotion of love.

**48.** Where such friendship exists, *wishing and not wishing the same things*,[48] a wish that is the more pleasant as it is more sincere and the sweeter as it is more holy, lovers can wish for nothing that is unbecoming and fail to wish for nothing that is becoming.

**49.** Of course prudence guides, justice rules, strength protects, and temperance moderates this friendship.[49] We will discuss these four virtues in their proper place. But decide now whether in your opinion we have given sufficient attention to what you thought the first question should be, namely, what friendship is.

[43] Cf. Lk 16:9; cf. Aelred, Lam D 12; cf. Ambrose, Off 3.136; cf. Cicero, *De inventione* 2.55; cf. Aelred, Vita E 28.

[44] Cicero, Amic 9.31; cf. Bernard, SC 83.2.4; cf. Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics* 8.3.1–6.

[45] Jn 15:16-17.

[46] Cf. Cassian, Coll 16.3.

[47] Cicero, Amic 6.20.

[48] Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 20.4.

[49] Cf. Ws 8:7; cf. Aelred, Iesu 20; cf. Aelred, Spec car 1.31.88–33.92.

**50.** IVO. Our discussion has been quite sufficient, and I can think of nothing further to ask. But before passing to other topics, I would like to know the origin of friendship among mortals. Did it originate from nature or from chance, or from some other need? Or did it really come into use after being imposed on humankind through some precept or law? Did habit then make it deserving of praise?

**51.** AELRED. In my opinion, nature itself first impressed on human minds the feeling of friendship, which experience then developed and the authority of law finally sanctioned.[50] For God, who is supreme in power and goodness, is a good sufficient unto himself; he is himself his own good, his own joy, his own glory, and his own happiness.[51]

**52.** Nothing exists outside him that he could need, whether person or angel or sky or earth or anything they contain, for every creature cries out to him, "*You are my God, for you have no need of my goods*."[52] Not only is he sufficient unto himself, but he is the sufficiency of all other things, giving to some existence, to others sensation, and to still others intelligence. He is the cause of all that exists, the life of everything with sensation, and the wisdom of everyone endowed with intelligence.

**53.** Therefore, as the highest nature he fashioned all natures, set everything in its place, and with discernment allotted each its own time. Moreover, since he so planned it eternally, he determined that peace should guide all his creatures and society unite them. Thus from him who is supremely and uniquely one, all should be allotted some trace of his unity. For this reason, he left no class of creatures isolated, but from the many he linked each one in a kind of society.[53]

**54.** Let us begin with creatures that lack sensation. What plot of land or what stream turns up only one stone of a single kind? Or what forest produces only one tree of a single species? Thus among non-sentient beings, a kind of love of companionship comes

[50] Cicero, Amic 8.27.
[51] Aelred, Spec car 1.2.4.
[52] [Ps 15:2].
[53] Cf. Aelred, Spec car 1.21.61.

to light, since not one of them is left alone, but each is created and conserved in a kind of society of its own class. But among sentient creatures, who could easily express how great a mirror of friendship and how great an image of a loving society they reflect?[54]

**55.** Although in all other respects animals are proven to be irrational, surely in this respect alone they so imitate the human spirit that they are almost thought to be moved by reason. They so follow the leader, so frolic together, so express and display their attachment in actions and sounds together, and so enjoy one another's company with eagerness and pleasure that they seem to relish nothing more than what resembles friendship.[55]

**56.** Among angels, too, divine wisdom so provided that not one but several classes should be created. Among these classes, pleasant companionship and the most tender love created a like will and attachment, so as to allow no entry to envy, for one might seem greater and another less had not charity countered this danger with friendship. Thus there was a host of angels to banish loneliness and a communion of charity in the various classes to multiply their joy.

**57.** Finally, when God fashioned the man, to recommend society as a higher blessing, he said, "*it is not good that the man should be alone; let us make him a helper like himself.*"[56] Indeed divine power fashioned this helper not from similar or even from the same material. But as a more specific motivation for charity and friendship, this power created a woman from the very substance of the man. In a beautiful way, then, from the side of the first human a second was produced,[57] so that nature might teach that all are equal or, as it were, collateral, and that among human beings—and this is a property of friendship—there exists neither superior nor inferior.[58]

[54] Cicero, Amic 21.81.

[55] Cicero, Amic 21.81; cf. Cassian, Coll 16.2.

[56] Gn 2:18; cf. Ambrose, Off 1.133–36.

[57] Gn 2:21–22; cf. Peter Lombard, *Sententia* 2.18.2; cf. Geoffrey Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* X (1).925–27.

[58] Cicero, Amic 19.69; cf. Ambrose, Off 3.129; cf. Bernard, SC 59.2.

**58.** So from the very beginning nature impressed on human minds this attachment of charity and friendship, which an inner experience of love soon increased with a delightful sweetness. But after the fall of the first human, with charity growing lukewarm, when cupidity crept in and let private gain supplant the common good, avarice and envy corrupted the splendor of friendship and charity by introducing into the debased morals of mankind contentions, rivalries, hatreds, and suspicions.

**59.** Then groups of the righteous distinguished between charity and friendship, noting that perfect love should be extended even to foes and to perverts, while no communion of will and counsel could exist between the good and the worst. Therefore friendship, which like charity was at first observed among all and by all people, by natural law lingered among the few righteous. Observing that many were violating the sacred rights of loyalty and society, the righteous bound themselves by a stricter bond of love[59] and friendship. And among the evils they saw and experienced, they kept their peace in the grace of mutual charity.

**60.** But for those in whom impiety had effaced all sense of virtue, reason, which could not be extinguished in them, retained the attachment of friendship and companionship, so that without companions wealth could not satisfy the avaricious, or fame the ambitious, or dalliance the lustful. Even among the worst, some loathsome social contracts were struck, disguised by the fairest name of friendship. These, though, had to be distinguished from friendship by law and precept, lest when real friendship was sought, an incautious person might be trapped into it by the similar name.

**61.** Thus the authority of the law sanctioned the friendship that nature had established and use confirmed. Hence it is evident that friendship is natural, like virtue and wisdom and those other things that are, like natural goods, to be sought and treasured for themselves, for all who possess these things make good use of them, and no one entirely abuses them.[60]

[59] Lat *dilectionis.*

[60] Cf. Augustine, Lib arb 2.19.

**62.** IVO. Do not many people abuse wisdom? I ask, because many desire to please through wisdom or brag of themselves because of their endowment of wisdom, or at least those do who consider that wisdom is marketable and that making a profit from wisdom is a religious duty.[61]

**63.** AELRED. Here you will relish our Augustine, whom I quote verbatim: "*The one who pleases himself pleases a fool, because one who pleases himself is certainly a fool.*"[62] Now the fool is unwise, and the unwise is unwise because he lacks wisdom. How then does he abuse wisdom when he has none? Likewise, if chastity is proud, it is not virtue, because pride is a vice, making what is considered a virtue into an image of itself and so therefore no longer a virtue but a vice.[63]

**64.** IVO. But by your leave, I object. To me it seems incongruous for you to link wisdom with friendship, for there is no basis of comparison between them.

**65.** AELRED. Especially among the virtues, the less—though they are not equal in rank—are frequently linked with the greater, the good with the better, and the weaker with the stronger. Although virtues vary among themselves by a difference of degree, still by some similarity they approximate each other. Widowhood lives next door to vulgarity, and conjugal chastity lives next door to widowhood. Great is the difference among these virtues, but some relationship remains from the fact that they are virtues.

**66.** Indeed conjugal chastity does not cease to be a virtue just because it is surpassed by a widow's continence. Nor is the grace of both withdrawn just because each is surpassed by virginity. However, if you weigh these teachings carefully, you will discover that friendship is so close to or so steeped in wisdom that I would almost claim that friendship is nothing other than wisdom.

**67.** IVO. I confess my surprise and do not think I can easily convince myself of that statement.

[61] Cf. Bernard, SC 36.3.3–4.
[62] Augustine, S 47.9.13.
[63] Cf. Aelred, Inst incl 23–24.

**68.** AELRED. Have you forgotten that Scripture says "*a friend loves always*"?[64] As you recall, our Jerome also said, "*friendship that can end was never true*."[65] Sufficient and more than sufficient proof has also been given that friendship cannot subsist without charity. Since in friendship, then, eternity may flourish, truth light the way, and charity delight, see for yourself whether you should withhold the name of wisdom where these three co-exist.

**69.** IVO. To what does this lead? Should I say of friendship what John, the friend of Jesus, said of charity, "God is friendship"?[66]

**70.** AELRED. This is novel indeed and lacks the authority of the Scriptures. The rest of that verse about charity, however, I surely do not hesitate to attribute to friendship, because *the one who remains in* friendship *remains in God, and God in him*.[67] This you will perceive more clearly when we begin our dialogue on the fruit or value of friendship.

Now if in our guileless simplicity we have spoken enough about the nature of friendship, let us reserve for another time the remaining questions you suggested for consideration.

**71.** IVO. When I am so keen to learn, this interruption is disappointing but unavoidable, as I am summoned to supper, which I am not allowed to miss, and you must meet your obligations to the many who wait in line for your attention.

## Here Ends the First Book on Spiritual Friendship

[64] Prv 17:17.
[65] Jerome, Ep 3.6.
[66] Cf. 1 Jn 4:16; cf. Aelred, Sp am 1.31–32.
[67] 1 Jn 4:16.

# Book Two

## Here Begins the Second

**1.** AELRED. At long last, brother, approach. A short while ago when I was dealing with worldly matters with men of the world, tell me why you sat alone a little removed from us? Now you turned your eyes from this side to that, now you rubbed your forehead with your hand, and now you ran your fingers through your hair. Then, with an angry frown or a frequent change of expression you complained that something contrary to your wishes had happened to you.

**2.** WALTER. True enough. For who would patiently all day endure some unknown *taskmasters of Pharaoh* who monopolized you while we who have a special claim on you cannot enjoy an occasional chat with you?[1]

**3.** AELRED. We have to accommodate ourselves also to the ways of men from whom we either expect favors or fear injuries. Now that they have finally departed, I find this seclusion all the more pleasant because of the previous unpleasant annoyance, for *hunger is the best sauce*.[2] Neither honey nor any substitute gives to wine so much flavor as a hearty thirst gives to water. Perhaps the greater keenness of your previous desire will make this collation

[1] Cf. Ex 5:14; cf. Aelred, Spec car 1.18.51.
[2] Cf., e.g., Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1.3.5.

of ours, like food or drink for the spirit, all the more rewarding. Come, now—don't be shy; out with it. What was it you were fretting about just now?

**4.** WALTER. Very well. Were I to complain about how very short is the hour those barterers left us, I would seem to make it even shorter for myself. Come then, grant my request. Do you still remember what you and your friend Ivo agreed about spiritual friendship, or has that slipped your mind? What questions did he ask you? What progress did you make in resolving them? And what did you write down?

**5.** AELRED. Although he is now removed from the human condition, the remembrance of my beloved brother—or rather his untiring affection and embrace—are always so fresh in my mind that in spirit he seems never to have departed. For there he is always with me,[3] there his devout countenance beams upon me and his gentle eyes smile. There his joyful words have so much flavor for me that it seems that either I have passed over with him to a better life or he still shares this humbler one with me. You know of course that many years have passed since the pages disappeared on which I had recorded his questions about spiritual friendship and my answers.

**6.** WALTER. Yes, I'm aware of that. But to tell the truth, all my keenness and all my present frustration arise from the fact that I've heard from several people that three days ago those pages were found and restored to you. Please show them to me, your son. My spirit remains restless indeed until, having seen the full contents and noted what is lacking in that discussion, I may present for your paternal attention what either my own mind or a hidden inspiration may suggest to me for revision, acceptance, or explanation.

**7.** AELRED. I'll humor you, but I do request that you alone read what is written and that nothing be made public, lest perhaps I decide that some passages require cuts, others some additions, and many even corrections.

* * *

[3] Cf. Cicero, Amic 27.102; cf. Aelred, Sp am 3.119.

**8.** WALTER. Here I am, with my ears ready for your words. My appetite is surely keener after the delicious taste of what I read on friendship. Now that I have heard your eloquent discussion on the nature of friendship, I wish you would suggest for me what fruit it offers those who cultivate it. Friendship is really something, as your strong reasoning has proved! But if I first could grasp its purpose and rewards, then I would seek it more eagerly.

**9.** AELRED. I do not assume that my explanation can match the great value of the topic. Nothing in human life is hungered for with more holiness, nothing is sought with more utility, nothing is found with more difficulty, nothing is experienced with more pleasure, and nothing is possessed with more fruitfulness. Friendship bears fruit *in our present life and in the next*.[4]

**10.** With its sweetness it is a foundation for all the virtues, and with its virtue it destroys the vices. Friendship so cushions adversity and chastens prosperity that among mortals almost nothing can be enjoyed without a friend.[5] A friendless person is like an animal, having no one in whom to rejoice in prosperity and grieve in sadness,[6] in whom to confide if the mind suspects some threat and with whom to communicate an unusually sublime or splendid event.

**11.** *Woe to the solitary, because when he falls, he has no one to lift him up*.[7] Wholly alone is one who is friendless. But how happy, how carefree, how joyful you are if you have a friend with whom you may talk as freely as with yourself,[8] to whom you neither fear to confess any fault nor blush at revealing any spiritual progress, to whom you may entrust all the secrets of your heart and confide all your plans.[9] And what is more delightful than so to unite spirit to spirit and so *to make one out of two*[10] that there is neither fear of

[4] Cf. 1 Tm 4:8.
[5] Cicero, Amic 23.86; cf. Bernard, Div 10.2.
[6] Cf. Rom 12:15.
[7] Qo 4:10.
[8] Cicero, Amic 6.22.
[9] Cf. Ambrose, Off 3.136; cf. Aelred, Sp am 3.83.
[10] Ambrose, Off 3.134; cf. Cicero, Amic 21.81, 25.92.

boasting nor dread of suspicion? A friend's correction does not cause pain, and a friend's praise is not considered flattery.

**12.** The wise man says, "*a friend is medicine for life*."[11] What a striking metaphor! No remedy is more powerful, effective, and distinctive in everything that fills this life than to have someone to share your every loss with compassion and your every gain with congratulation.[12] Hence shoulder to shoulder, according to Paul, friends carry each other's burdens,[13] though they each bear their own bruises more lightheartedly than their friend's.

**13.** Thus friendship *by dividing and sharing makes prosperity more splendid and adversity more tolerable*.[14] So the *best medicine for life is a friend*.[15] According to the pagan proverb, *we do not need fire and water on more occasions than we need a friend*.[16] In every action and every effort, in certainty and doubt, in any event or fortune, in private and in public, in every deliberation, at home or abroad—everywhere friendship is delightful, a friend is closer than kin, and the friend's charm is priceless. Hence Cicero says of friends, "*the absent are present, the poor are rich, the weak are strong, and—even more difficult—the dead are alive*."[17]

**14.** Consequently, friendship for the rich is a glory, for exiles a country, for the poor the remission of taxes, for the sick medicine, for the dead life, for the healthy a benefit, for the weak strength, and for the vigorous a reward. Indeed *such great honor*, *remembrance*, praise, *and wishes are attached* to friends that their lives are considered worthy of praise and their *deaths precious*.[18] One truth surpasses all these: close to perfection is that level of friendship that consists in the love and knowledge of God, when one who is the friend of

[11] Si 6:16.
[12] Ambrose, Off 3.129, 3.132.
[13] Cf. Gal 6:2.
[14] Cicero, Amic 6.22.
[15] Si 6:16.
[16] Cicero, Amic 6.22.
[17] Cicero, Amic 7.23; cf. Jerome, Ep 8.1; cf. Bernard, Epp 53, 65.2.
[18] Cicero, Amic 7.23.

another becomes the friend of God, according to the verse of our Savior in the Gospel: "*I shall no longer call you servants but friends*."[19]

**15.** WALTER. I confess that your explanation moves me. The yearning of my whole spirit is so enkindled with desire for friendship that I admit that I have not yet begun to live while I lack the many rewards of so great a blessing. But the last point you made, that friendship is the highest step toward perfection, swept me off my feet and almost dispatched me from the land of the living. Therefore I want you to explain it to me more fully.

**16.** But now fortunately here comes our friend Gratian, whom with reason I would call friendship's follower, for his one ambition is to be loved and to love.[20] Too eager for friendship, he risks being deceived by its likeness, accepting false for true, feigned for real, and carnal for spiritual.

**17.** GRATIAN. Thank you for your civility, Brother, as now at last you admit to your spiritual banquet one who brazenly bursts in uninvited. If in earnest and not in jest you thought I should be dubbed friendship's follower, I should have been summoned before your colloquy began and not been forced to reveal my interest at the expense of my modesty. But continue what you began, Father, and for my sake put something on the table for me so that I may be at least a little refreshed, if not satisfied like my brother here, who after sharing countless courses now fastidiously welcomes me, as if to the leftovers.

**18.** AELRED. Don't worry, son, because so much still remains to be added about the blessing of friendship that were some wise man to continue, you would think we had said nothing at all. But do note briefly that friendship is a step toward the love and knowledge of God. In friendship indeed, there is nothing dishonest, *nothing feigned, nothing pretended. Whatever does exist here* is holy, *unforced, and genuine*.[21] This is also characteristic of charity.

**19.** But thanks to a special prerogative, friendship outshines charity in this, that among those who are mutually bound by the

[19] Jn 15:15; cf. Ambrose, Off 3.136.
[20] Cf. Aelred, Sp am Prol.1, 3.127.
[21] Cf. Cicero, Amic 8.26.

bond of friendship, all things are experienced as joyful, secure, pleasant, and sweet. Through the perfection of charity we have perfect love for many who are a burden and a bore to us. Although we consult their interests honestly, without pretense or hypocrisy but truthfully and voluntarily, still we do not invite them into the intimacies of friendship.

**20.** In friendship, then, we join honesty with kindness, truth with joy, sweetness with good will, and affection with kind action. All this begins with Christ, is advanced through Christ, and is perfected in Christ.[22] The ascent does not seem too steep or too unnatural, then, from Christ's inspiring the love with which we love a friend to Christ's offering himself to us as the friend we may love, so that tenderness may yield to tenderness, sweetness to sweetness, and affection to affection.

**21.** Hence a friend clinging to a friend in the spirit of Christ becomes *one heart and one soul* with him.[23] Thus mounting the steps of love to the friendship of Christ, a friend becomes one with him in the one kiss of the spirit.[24] Sighing for this kiss, one holy soul cried out, "*let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth!*"[25]

**22.** Let us consider the characteristics of this kiss of the flesh, that from what is of the flesh we may rise to the spirit, from what is human to the divine.[26] Life is sustained by two sources of nourishment, food and air. Without food one can survive for some time, but without air not even an hour. Through our lips, then, for survival we inhale and exhale. What is inhaled or exhaled has received the name *breath* or *spirit*.[27]

[22] Cf. Aelred, Sp am 1.10.

[23] Acts 4:32; cf. 1 Cor 6:17.

[24] Cf. Bernard, SC 71.6; cf. William of Saint Thierry, Contem 7; cf. William of Saint Thierry, Ep frat 262–63; cf. Gilbert of Hoyland, SC 31.8 (PL 32.8); cf. Aelred, Inst incl 26.

[25] Sg 1:1.

[26] Cf. Aelred, S 50.23; cf. Bernard, SC 3, 4, 8, 9; cf. Bernard, Div 10.87; cf. Walter Daniel, Sent 45.

[27] Lat *spiritus*.

**23.** In a kiss, therefore, two spirits meet, blend, and unite. Begotten from these two spirits, a sweetness of mind awakens and engages the affection of those who exchange a kiss.[28]

**24.** So there exist physical kisses, spiritual kisses, and intellectual kisses. The physical kiss is made with the imprint of the lips, the spiritual kiss with the joining of spirits, and the intellectual kiss with the infusion of grace by the spirit of God. The physical kiss should be offered or accepted only for fixed and honest reasons. Here are some examples: as a sign of reconciliation, when those who have previously been mutual enemies become friends;[29] as a sign of peace, when those about to communicate in church show their inner peace by an outward kiss; as a sign of love, as is permitted between husband and wife or as is given and received between friends after a long absence; or as a sign of catholic unity, as is done when a guest is received.

**25.** But just as many misuse natural goods such as water, fire, iron, food, and air as instruments of cruelty or of pleasure, so perverts and the depraved somehow attempt to sweeten their crimes with a kiss, though natural law established it as a sign of the blessings we mentioned. They defile the kiss itself with such wantonness that their kiss is nothing but adultery. Any honest person knows how much such a kiss should be loathed, abominated, shunned, and rejected.

**26.** Now the spiritual kiss belongs to friends who are bound by the one law of friendship. This takes place *not through a touch of the mouth but through the attachment of the mind*,[30] not by joining lips but by blending spirits, while the Spirit of God purifies all things[31] and by sharing himself pours in a heavenly flavor. This kiss I would aptly name the kiss of Christ, which he offers, however, through the lips of another, not his own. He inspires in friends that most holy affection, so that to them it seems that there exists but one

[28] Cf. William of Saint Thierry, Cant 30–31; cf. William of Saint Thierry, Med 8.5.

[29] Cf. Lk 23:12.

[30] Aelred, Spec car 1.34.109.

[31] Cf. Pseudo-Ignatius, *Ep ad Trallianos* 13.3.

soul in different bodies, and so they may say with the prophet, *see how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to live in unity*.[32]

**27.** Having grown accustomed to this kiss and confident that all this sweetness derives from Christ and, as it were, thinking aloud "O! If he would only come in person!" the soul sighs for that intellectual kiss and cries with deepest yearning, "*let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth*."[33] So at last, with all earthly attachments calmed and all worldly thoughts and desires lulled, it may delight in the kiss of Christ alone and rest in his embrace, exulting and exclaiming, "*his left hand is beneath my head, and his right hand will embrace me*."[34]

**28.** GRATIAN. This friendship isn't common, as I see, nor is it the stuff we are wont to dream of. I can't vouch for what our Walter felt previously, but I believed friendship was nothing but two persons with one will, so that neither wished anything that the other didn't wish.[35] In good times and bad the agreement between them is so great that neither life nor wealth nor honor nor any possession of the one would be denied the other, to enjoy or reject at will.

**29.** WALTER. I remember learning quite a different lesson in the first dialogue, when the very definition of friendship, once proposed and explained, strongly urged me to examine its rewards more deeply. Now we have been sufficiently informed about its rewards, but since different authors have different views, we ask that you first set a firm limit about the lengths to which friendship should go. Some indeed think that one should favor a friend over loyalty and integrity and over either the common or the private good. Some judge that loyalty should be excluded, but nothing else.[36]

**30.** Others claim that for a friend one should discount any cost, sacrifice one's position, incur parental wrath, accept exile, and even brush shoulders with dishonest and disreputable characters, without,

[32] Ps 133 [132]:1.
[33] Sg 1:1.
[34] Sg 2:6.
[35] Cf. Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 20.4.
[36] Cicero, Amic 17.61; cf. Cicero, Amic 18.65.

however, injuring one's country or infringing on the rights of others. Some authors set as the goal of friendship that all should have the same feeling for their friend as for themselves.

**31.** Some believe that to match every gift and service of a friend is to meet the demands of friendship.[37] I am sufficiently convinced by our present exchange that none of these views should be accepted. So I wish you would indicate some fixed boundary in friendship for me, especially with Gratian here, lest true to his name he should so desire to be gracious that he inadvertently become malicious.

**32.** GRATIAN. I appreciate your anxiety on my behalf! Were I not so avid to listen, perhaps even now I would immediately reply in kind. But let's listen to what our father may wish to answer to your queries.

**33.** AELRED. Christ himself first set a fixed limit for friendship when he said "*no one has greater love than to lay down his life for his friends*."[38] See to what limits love should reach among friends, namely to a willingness to die for each other. Does that satisfy you both?

**34.** GRATIAN. Since no friendship could be greater, why shouldn't that satisfy us?

**35.** WALTER. What if in plotting misdeeds and crimes all the wicked or the pagans should so love themselves that they were willing to die for each other? Would we admit that they had climbed to the peak of friendship?

**36.** AELRED. Never, since friendship cannot exist among hardened criminals.

**37.** GRATIAN. Then please tell us among whom friendship can either arise or grow.

**38.** AELRED. To speak briefly, it can rise among the good and progress among the better, but be consummated only among the perfect. As long as anyone purposely delights in evil or prefers dishonest to honest deeds, or as long as pleasure pleases a person

[37] Cicero, Amic 16.56.
[38] Jn 15:13.

more than purity, rashness more than restraint, and flattery more than chastisement, how is it right for such a one even to aspire to friendship, when it rises and grows from an esteem for another's virtue?[39] If one is ignorant of the source from which friendship rises, it is difficult—indeed it is impossible—to taste even the beginnings of friendship.

**39.** Love is foul and unworthy of the name of friendship if by it anything disgraceful is exacted of a friend, which necessarily happens when one has not yet sufficiently subdued or put to rest one's passions or when someone lures or drives him to do illicit deeds. Therefore we should denounce the opinion of authors who claim that one should act contrary to faith and honesty for the sake of a friend.

**40.** Indeed it is no excuse for sin if one sins for the sake of a friend. Adam, our prototype, might have been left with a less bitter taste if he had charged his wife with presumption rather than also doing wrong in order to humor her.[40] The servants of King Saul kept faith with their master by withholding their hands from bloodshed against his command much better than did the Edomite Doeg, who, as a slave of the king's cruelty, with sacrilegious hands slew the priests of the Lord.[41] The friend of Amon, Jonadab, would have been much more commendable in preventing the incest of his friend than in suggesting a plan whereby he could achieve his objective.[42]

**41.** Nor does the virtue of friendship excuse the friends of Absalom, who in consenting to rebellion bore arms against their country.[43] And to come to our own times, Otto, a cardinal of the Roman Church, parted company with his best friend, Guido, much more laudably in such a schism than John, who clung to Octavian,

[39] Cicero, Amic 11.38; Cicero, Amic 12.40.
[40] Cf. Gn 3:6.
[41] 1 Sm 22:17–18.
[42] 2 Sm 13:3–5.
[43] 2 Sm 15:12.

his best friend.[44] You see then that friendship can last *only among the good*.[45]

**42.** WALTER. What has friendship to do with us, then, since we are less than good?

**43.** AELRED. My view of the good does not *cut to the quick*, unlike some who limit the good to those who in no way fall short of perfection.[46] I call those good who within the limits of our mortal life live *sober, upright, and godly* lives *in this world*,[47] wishing neither to exact anything shameful of another nor, if asked, to offer anything shameful.[48] I have no doubt that among such people friendships can arise, develop, and grow to perfection.

**44.** Those who expose themselves to another's lust, even if they draw the line at disloyalty, the peril of their country, and injury to another contrary to what is right and just, I would consider not stupid but insane. While sparing others, they do not think of sparing themselves, and while respecting the honor of others, they unfortunately betray their own.

**45.** WALTER. I could almost endorse the view of those who claim that friendship should be guarded against as a burden full of care and anxiety, not free from fear but subject to many sorrows.[49] They claim that *while it is enough and more than enough* for each to take care of himself, anyone is rash so to obligate himself to others that he must be involved in many cares and burdened with many inconveniences.[50]

[44] At the death of Pope Adrian IV in 1159, Papal Counselor Rolando of Siena was elected to succeed him as Pope Alexander III. A minority of the electing cardinals, however, named Octavian Maledetti (Octavian of Monticello) as pope, with the name Victor IV. With support from the Holy Roman Emperor, Octavian ruled as antipope until his death on 20 April 1164. He was succeeded by Cardinal Guido de Crene under the name Pascal III. John of Saint Martin, a cardinal priest, had concurred in the election of Octavian; Otto was a cardinal who supported Guido (Canivez, *Statuta*, 1:73).

[45] Cf. Cicero, Amic 5.18, 18.65.

[46] Cf. Cicero, Amic 5.18; cf. Bernard, Ep 270.3.

[47] Ti 2:12.

[48] Cicero, Amic 12.40.

[49] Cf. Seneca, *Ep ad Lucilius* 9.1.

[50] Cicero, Amic 13.45.

**46.** They think that nothing is more difficult *than to continue a friendship for a lifetime*[51] and that it is terribly disgraceful for a friendship once begun to turn into its opposite. Hence they judge it more prudent for anyone so to love that he may hate at will,[52] suggesting that *the reins of friendship should* hang *so loose that they can be tightened or relaxed at will*.[53]

**47.** GRATIAN. Then we have been wasting our efforts, you in speaking and we in listening, if our taste for friendship begins to cloy so easily, although you so frequently praised its fruit as invaluable, holy, acceptable to God, and close to perfection. Let any author keep his opinion to himself who is content so to love today that tomorrow he may hate, to be so friendly to all that he may be faithful to none, to be set on praise today but on blame tomorrow, to be fixed on fawning today but on backbiting tomorrow, to be poised for a kiss today but prompt to reproach tomorrow. Such love is purchased for almost nothing and vanishes at the slightest offense.

**48.** WALTER. And I thought doves lacked gall! But do tell us how to refute this opinion that so displeases Gratian.

**49.** AELRED. Cicero has a beautiful comment about them: "*those who banish friendship from life seem to pluck the sun from the universe, for we have no better, no more delightful blessing from God*."[54] What kind of wisdom is it to loathe friendship in order to avoid anxiety and to be carefree and absolved of fear? As if any virtue could be acquired or kept without anxiety![55] Isn't it true that you experience great anxiety in your battle against error, for temperance against lust, for justice against wickedness, and for courage against cowardice?[56]

**50.** Let me ask you who, especially among young people, can safeguard chastity or rein in wanton attachment without the greatest fear or grief? Was it folly for Paul to be unwilling to live without

[51] Cicero, Amic 9.33.
[52] Cicero, Amic 16.59.
[53] Cicero, Amic 13.45; cf. Euripides, *Hippolytus* 257–60.
[54] Cf. Cicero, Amic 13.47.
[55] Cf. Cicero, Amic 13.47–48; cf. Augustine, Civ Dei 19.8.
[56] Cf. Aelred, Spec car 1.31.88–33.92.

care and solicitude for others? With his insight into charity, which he considered the greatest virtue, he was weak with the weak and indignant over scandal.[57] *Great was his sadness and continuous his grief of heart for his brothers according to the flesh*.[58]

**51.** Should he have abandoned charity, then, to avoid a life with so many fears and sorrows? He was *in labor again* for those he had begotten,[59] *fostered* children *like a nurse*,[60] and corrected them like a teacher.[61] At one time he was afraid lest their understanding be led astray from the faith,[62] at another with much anguish and many tears he summoned all to reconciliation,[63] and again he mourned for those who did not repent.[64] Do you see how those who dare to eliminate such anxieties, which always accompany virtue, do not fear to remove the virtues from the world?

**52.** Was it folly for Hushai the Archite to safeguard the friendship he enjoyed with David with such loyalty that he chose danger over security and preferred sharing the sorrows of his friend to relaxing with the joys and honors of a parricide?[65] Those who claim that their lives should be such as to console no one and to be a burden or the occasion of grief to no one, who derive no joy from others' success and inflict no bitterness on others with their own perversity, I would call not human beings but beasts. They have only one goal: neither to love nor to be loved by anyone.

**53.** Far be it from me to concede that those people know love who put a monetary value on friendship, for they proclaim themselves friends only with their lips, only when they smile in the hope of some temporal gain or lure a friend to become an accomplice in some vile action.[66]

[57] Cf. 2 Cor 11:28–29; cf. Aelred, Orat past 7.
[58] Cf. Rom 9:2-3.
[59] Cf. Gal 4:19.
[60] Cf. 1 Thes 2:7.
[61] Cf. 2 Tm 2:25; cf. Col 1:28.
[62] Cf. 2 Cor 11:3.
[63] Cf. 2 Cor 2:4.
[64] Cf. 2 Cor 12:21.
[65] Cf. 2 Sm 16:16-19; 2 Sm 17:5-16.
[66] Cicero, Amic 21.79; cf. Cassian, Coll 16.28.

**54.** WALTER. Since it is certain, then, that many are deceived by a counterfeit of friendship, would you please distinguish what kinds of friendship to avoid and what kinds to seek, foster, and maintain?

**55.** AELRED. Since friendship, as we said, can endure only among the good,[67] you may easily grasp that any friendship that is inappropriate for the good is unacceptable.

**56.** GRATIAN. Perhaps we are not clear in discerning what is and what is not appropriate.

**57.** AELRED. I'll go along with you and point out briefly what friendships occur to me as those to be avoided. A childish friendship exists, created by an aimless and capricious attachment. *It falls in with every passerby*,[68] without reason, without gravity, without limit, without consideration for loss or gain. For the moment it affects ardently, joins, and gently binds. But attachment without reason is an animal instinct, prone to anything illicit, indeed incapable of discerning between the licit and the illicit. Although attachment frequently precedes friendship, it should never be followed unless reason guides, honesty moderates, and justice rules.[69]

**58.** Therefore because the friendship we called childish—for attachment dominates mainly in children—is fickle, changeable, and always adulterated with impure love, it ought to be shunned in every way by those who are delighted with the sweetness of spiritual friendship. We call that not friendship so much as a flaw in friendship, because in it the genuine measure of love, that which links soul to soul, can never be maintained. Fumes of some kind, emerging from the concupiscence of the flesh, cloud and corrode the pure ore of friendship and, to the detriment of the spirit, make it prone to desires of the flesh.[70]

**59.** Therefore, let the origins of spiritual friendship have first of all the purity of intention, the teaching of reason, and the rein of temperance. Thus a most sweet attachment at the beginning will

[67] Cicero, Amic 5.18, 18.65.
[68] Ez 16:25.
[69] Aelred, Spec car 3.23.54.
[70] Cf. Augustine, Conf 2.2.2.

be experienced with such delight as always to remain well ordered. A friendship also exists in which partners in the worst immorality become fast friends. I forbear to speak about this, since—to repeat what we said—it is not deemed worthy of the name of friendship.

**60.** Another friendship is enkindled by esteem for what is expedient, which for this reason many consider worth seeking, fostering, and maintaining.[71] If we accept it, how many will we exclude who are most deserving of love of every kind! Since they have and possess nothing, surely no one can either gain or hope to gain from them anything of temporal value.

**61.** But if you count the advantages of counsel in uncertainty, consolation in adversity, and other help of this kind, surely they are to be expected of a friend, but they should follow, not precede, friendship. Nor has anyone learned the meaning of friendship who wants any reward other than friendship itself.[72] Indeed its reward will be complete for those who cultivate it, for when they are wholly transported into God, those whom it has united will be immersed in contemplation of him.

**62.** Although the trustworthy friendship of good persons may beget *many and great benefits*, without doubt the benefits follow from the friendship, not friendship from the benefits.[73] Indeed it was with great blessings that Barzillai the Gileadite welcomed, nourished, and befriended David while he was in flight from his son, the parricide; but I do not believe that among such great men friendship was generated from those benefits. I am convinced, rather, that such favors resulted from friendship. No one would suppose that the king had a prior need for that man.[74]

**63.** That this man of great wealth expected no reward from the king can be clearly seen from the fact that, desiring to be satisfied with his own resources, he was content to accept nothing from the

[71] Cf. Cicero, Amic 15.51; cf. Cicero, *De inventione* 2.55; cf. Augustine, S 385.4; cf. Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics* 8.3.1–6.

[72] Cicero, Amic 9.30–31; cf. Bernard, Dil 7.17; cf. Bernard, SC 83.2.5.

[73] Cicero, Amic 9.30–31.

[74] 2 Sm 17:27-29; cf. Aelred, Spec car 3.13.35.

king, though the king was quite ready to offer all the luxuries and wealth of his kingdom.[75] Likewise we know that the worthy covenant consecrated between David and Jonathan, with no hope of future gain but with contemplation of virtue, benefited both.[76] Through the diligence of Jonathan, the life of David was protected, and through the kindness of David, Jonathan's line was not wiped out.[77]

**64.** Since among good people friendship always precedes and advantage follows, surely *we delight not in any blessing won through friendship so much as in the true love of a friend*.[78]

You be the judges, then. Decide whether we have spoken adequately about the rewards of friendship. Have we clearly discerned the right persons among whom it can arise, grow, and be perfected? Have we unmasked and laid bare the flattering falsehoods that cloak themselves in the name of friendship? Have we shown the fixed goals to which love should reach among friends?

**65.** WALTER. I do not recall a sufficient discussion of the final point.

**66.** AELRED. You remember, I suppose, that I refuted the opinion of those who within the limits of friendship included a conspiracy of misdeeds and crime and of those who think one should go as far as exile and any disgrace short of injury to one's neighbor.

**67.** I have also refuted the view of those who measure their friendship by the amount of benefit anticipated. Two of these friendships that Walter named I considered unworthy of mention. What could be more absurd than to extend friendship as far as the obligation to reimburse a friend with honors and services when all things should be held in common among friends and they should have *one heart and one soul*?[79] And how disgraceful is the idea that one should view a friend just as one views oneself when

[75] 2 Sm 19:31-39.
[76] Cf. Cicero, Amic 9.30.
[77] 1 Sm 19–20; 2 Sm 9:1-13.
[78] Cicero, Amic 14.51.
[79] Acts 4:32.

one ought to have the lowest view of oneself and the highest view of one's friend?

**68.** After refuting these false goals of friendship, we agreed to introduce the limit of friendship from the words of our Lord, who ordained that for a friend one should not shun death itself. But we indicated those among whom friendship could arise and be perfected, lest any base characters should be considered raised to the height of friendship if they too should wish to die for each other. Then we argued that those who think friendship should be feared because it engenders many cares and anxieties should be considered absurd. Finally we explained as briefly as possible what friendship should be avoided by all good persons.

**69.** From all this, then, the fixed and true goal of friendship is clear: nothing should be denied to a friend, and nothing should be refused for a friend, not even the precious life of the body itself, for divine authority ordained that it should be laid down for a friend.[80] Since the life of the soul is much superior to that of the body, I conclude that sin, which brings death to the soul because it separates God from the soul and the soul from life, should be absolutely refused for a friend. But at the moment we cannot explain what moderation should be observed and what precaution taken with regard to what we can offer a friend or endure for a friend.

**70.** GRATIAN. As far as I am concerned, our Walter has done a real service. Prompted by his probing, you have included in a brief epilogue and sketched for the eyes of our memory a summary of the whole discussion. Come now and explain to us, please, especially in the duties of friends, what moderation should be observed or what precautions taken.

**71.** AELRED. These topics and others about friendship remain to be discussed. But time has slipped by, and newcomers, as you see, summon me by their importunity to other business.

**72.** WALTER. I certainly depart with reluctance, but with the intention of returning tomorrow at the time appointed. Let Gratian

[80] Cf. Jn 15:13.

take care to arrive promptly so that he may not accuse us of lack of interest or we accuse him of tardiness!

## Here Ends the Second Book

# Book Three

## Here Begins the Third

**1.** AELRED. Where have you come from and why?

GRATIAN. The reason I've come is no secret to you.

AELRED. Walter hasn't arrived, has he?

GRATIAN. That's his problem. Surely today I can't be accused of being late!

AELRED. Do you want to pursue the topics we proposed?

GRATIAN. I will rely on Walter. I need his company, I think, for his wit is sharper in understanding, his tongue more learned in questioning, and his memory more reliable in recall.

AELRED. Did you hear that, Walter? Gratian is a better friend of yours than you suspected.

WALTER. When he is everybody's friend, how could he fail to be mine? But since we are both at hand and remember your promise, let's not be ungrateful for this interval of leisure.

**2.** AELRED. The source and origin of friendship is love. Although love can exist without friendship, friendship can never exist without love. Love develops either from nature or from duty, from reason alone or from affection alone, or from both together. We are bound together by a special affection from nature, as a mother loves her child. From duty, when introduced and accepted by reason. From reason alone, as we love our enemies, not from a spon-

taneous inclination of the mind but by the constraint of the commandment. From affection alone, when someone wins the love of another because of such physical qualities as beauty or strength of eloquence. **3.** From reason and affection together, as when one whom reason persuades us is lovable because of his meritorious virtue enters another's spirit through his sweetness of manner and the charm of a purer life. Reason is so joined to affection that love may be chaste through reason and delightful through affection.

Which of these seems to you most suited to friendship?[1]

**4.** WALTER. The last, of course, which the contemplation of virtue forms and the sweetness of manners adorns.

**5.** AELRED. First one must lay a solid foundation for spiritual love, on which its principles should be built. Thus anyone rising on a straight line to its higher stories should use the greatest caution not to neglect or stray from the foundation.[2] That foundation is the love of God, to which everything must be referred—everything, whether suggested by love or by affection; everything, whether pleaded secretly by some spirit or openly by some friend. One must carefully consider whether whatever is added fits the foundation and whether whatever is seen to exceed it is trimmed to suit its shape. One must not hesitate to correct all the details on its model.

**6.** However, not everyone we love should be welcomed into friendship, because not all are suitable. *Since a friend is the partner of your soul, to whose spirit you join and link your own and so unite yourself as to wish to become one from two, to whom you commit yourself as to another self*, from whom you conceal nothing, *from whom you fear nothing*,[3] surely you must first choose, then test, and finally admit someone considered right for such a trust. *For friendship should be steadfast*, and by being *unwearied in affection*, it should present an image of eternity.[4]

[1] Cf. Aelred, Spec car 3.20.48.
[2] Cf. Bernard, Dil 8.26; cf. Bernard, Ep 271.
[3] Ambrose, Off 3.134; cf. Cicero, Amic 21.81.
[4] Ambrose, Off 3.128; cf. Cicero, *Timaeus* 6.

**7.** *We should not exchange friends on a passing whim, as children do.*[5] As no one is more detestable than one who harms a friendship, and as nothing tortures the spirit more than abandonment or attack by a friend, a friend should be chosen with the greatest attention and tested with the greatest care. Once a friend has been accepted, however, that friend is to be so tolerated, so treated, and so encouraged that as long as he does not depart irrevocably from the foundation you have built, he should be so much yours and you so much his in bodily as well as in spiritual matters that there should exist no separation of spirits, affection, will, or opinion.[6]

**8.** You notice then the four steps that lead to the perfection of friendship. The first is choice, the second testing, the third acceptance, and the fourth the highest *agreement in things divine and human with* a certain *charity and good will*.[7]

**9.** WALTER. In the first discussion, with your friend Ivo, I remember you proved this definition well. But because you discussed many kinds of friendship, I would like to know whether the definition includes friendship of all kinds.

**10.** AELRED. Since *true friendship can exist only among the good*,[8] who can desire or perform nothing against faith or morals, surely that definition does not include any kind of friendship except one that is genuine.

**11.** GRATIAN. Then should we not similarly accept the definition that pleased us most before yesterday's discussion, that friendship means *to wish and not wish the same things*?[9]

**12.** AELRED. That definition should not be rejected, in my opinion, and certainly not among those who have amended their conduct, reformed their lives, and regulated their affections.

**13.** WALTER. Let Gratian take care that these characteristics prevail in himself as well as in the one he loves. Then he will share the same likes and dislikes as his friend, desiring that nothing be

[5] Ambrose, Off 3.128.
[6] Cf. Cassian, Coll 16.24.
[7] Cicero, Amic 6.20.
[8] Cicero, Amic 5.18, 18.65.
[9] Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 20.4.

granted to him and nothing requested of him that might be unjust or shameful or inappropriate. But we await your teaching about what views to hold concerning the four things you have named.

**14.** AELRED. Let us first discuss the choice of a friend. Anyone entangled in certain vices will not long observe the laws and rights of friendship. Such people should not be lightly chosen for friendship. But if their lives and conduct are otherwise pleasing, one must treat them with the greatest care so that once healed they may be considered suitable for friendship. I mean the irascible, the fickle, the suspicious, and the verbose.

**15.** It is difficult indeed for one often aroused by the passion of anger not sometimes to rebel against a friend. As it is written in Ecclesiasticus, "*there are friends who will disgrace you with their hatred, brawling, and wrangling*."[10] Hence Scripture says, "*do not make friends with the hot-tempered or walk with a man of violence, lest you learn his ways and bring scandal to your soul*."[11] Solomon adds, "*anger slumbers in the breast of a fool*."[12] But who would assume it possible to prolong friendship with a fool?

**16.** WALTER. If I am not mistaken, I myself have seen you cultivate a friendship with an utterly irascible man, and with total dedication. Although he often hurt you, I have heard that to the last day of his life you never hurt him.

**17.** AELRED. Some are irascible by natural disposition but nevertheless are so accustomed to check and control this emotion that they never break into any of the five extremes by which Scripture says friendship is dissolved and destroyed.[13] At times, however, they offend a friend by a thoughtless act or remark or by indiscreet zeal. If we have perhaps accepted such people into friendship, we must suffer them with patience. When we are assured of a friend's affection, if there is any transgression in word or deed, we can excuse it in a friend or certainly point out in what way he transgressed, yet without resentment and even lightheartedly.

[10] Si 6:9.
[11] Prv 22:24-25.
[12] Qo 7:9 [10].
[13] Si 22:22 [27].

**18.** GRATIAN. A few days ago, one whom—in the opinion of many—you prefer as a friend above all of us was overcome by anger, as we assumed, and spoke and did something that he certainly knew would displease you. We do not observe or believe that he has forfeited any of your previous kindness. So, as we have been talking together with you, we have been quite amazed at your desire that nothing escape your notice, not even the least trifle, that would please him, although he is unable to suffer the least trifle for your sake.

**19.** WALTER. Gratian is much bolder than I am. Although I knew the facts, I was aware of your attitude to him and did not presume to say a word about it to you.

**20.** AELRED. That man is certainly very dear to me, and once I had received him as a friend, he could never lose my love. Hence perhaps I was stronger than he in this way. When our individual wills did not agree, it was easier for me to subdue my will than for him to subdue his. Where nothing shameful was involved, no confidence betrayed, no virtue blemished, I had to yield to a friend, so I not only tolerated what seemed his transgression but also, where his peace of mind was threatened, preferred his will to my own.

**21.** WALTER. Now that your earlier friend has yielded to destiny, I trust that this other will have made amends to you, though I haven't noticed it.

Please clarify for us the five vices through which friendship is so wounded as to perish, so that we may avoid those who should in no way be chosen as friends.

**22.** AELRED. Listen not to my words, but to the words of Scripture: "*one who reviles a friend dissolves the friendship. Do not despair of a friend*," it says, "*even* if he has drawn a *sword*, *for a return* to a friend *is possible*. If he has opened his mouth in bitterness, *do not be afraid*."[14] Notice what he says: if perhaps a friend draws his sword in anger or speaks a bitter word, if he loses his love for the moment and abandons you, if ever he prefers his own counsel to yours, or if in some opinion or dispute he disagrees with you, those reasons

[14] Cf. Si 22:20-22 [25-27].

should not cause you to decide that this friendship should be dissolved.

**23.** "*Return* to a friend *is possible*," it says, "*except for slander, reproach, and pride, the betrayal of secrets, and a treacherous blow. In all these attacks, a friend will turn and run*."[15] Now let us weigh these five more carefully, lest we bind ourselves with ties of friendship to those whom anger or some other passion has made prone to these vices. Slander, of course, harms a reputation and extinguishes charity. So great is the malice of humankind that although an insult hurled by a friend in a fit of anger may not be believed, it is still proclaimed as the truth, because it was disclosed by someone conscious of personal secrets.

**24.** Many delight to hear themselves praised and others maligned. Yet what is more criminal than slander? Even when the charge is false, it suffuses the face of the innocent with a blush of shame. But what is more intolerable than pride? It eliminates the remedy of humble confession, which alone could heal a wounded friendship. It makes a person brash in hurling insults and indignant at admonitions.

Next comes the betrayal of secrets, that is, of confidences. Nothing is more base, more execrable, because among friends it leaves no love, no kindness, no gentleness, but fills everything with bitterness and poisons all with the venom of indignation, hatred, and anguish.

**25.** Hence it is written, "*whoever betrays the secrets of a friend forfeits his confidence*,"[16] and, a little later, "*the betrayal of a friend's secrets brings despair to an unhappy soul*."[17] Who is more unhappy than one who forfeits trust and languishes in hopelessness?

The last vice to dissolve a friendship is a treacherous blow, which is nothing less than secret detraction. The wound is surely hidden, for it is the mortal wound of an asp and a serpent. "*One who backbites*

[15] Si 22:22 [27].
[16] Si 27:16 [17].
[17] Si 27:21 [24].

*secretly*," says Solomon, "*is no better than a serpent that bites in silence*."[18]

**26.** If you encounter someone addicted to these vices, avoid him. Until he is cured, he should not be accepted as a friend. Let us forswear curses, for God is the avenger. With curses Shimei assailed holy David as he fled from the face of Absalom.[19] Among the last instructions that the dying David gave his son Solomon, he proclaimed by the authority of the Holy Spirit that Shimei should be killed.[20] Nonetheless let us beware of reproaches. Unhappy Nabal of Carmel, who upbraided David as a fugitive slave, deserved to be struck down and slain by the Lord.[21] But if in anything we should chance to violate the law of friendship, let us avoid pride and seek the pardon of our friend through the blessing of humility.

**27.** Hanun was the son of the deceased Nahash, king of the Ammonites. When King David out of pity offered Hanun the friendship that Nahash his father had shown David, Hanun with thankless pride heaped contumely and contempt on a friend. Thus fire and sword together destroyed king and people and their cities.[22] Above all, though, we should consider it a sacrilege to reveal the secrets of friends, for such behavior destroys trust and imposes the yoke of despair on the captive soul. When Achithophel, in his most disloyal plot with Absalom the parricide, realized after his betrayal of David's strategy to Absalom that his own counterplot was not being followed, he earned the fate reserved for a traitor, hanging himself.[23]

**28.** Finally, we should consider that to belittle a friend is to poison a friendship. For this behavior the face of Miriam was covered with leprosy, and she was cast out of the camp and for a week deprived of interaction with her people.[24] In the choice of friends

[18] [Qo 10:11].
[19] 2 Sm 16:5-13.
[20] 1 K [3 K] 2:8-9.
[21] 1 Sm 25:10-38.
[22] 1 Chr 19:1–20:1; 2 Sm 10:1-4; cf. 2 Sm 12:26-31.
[23] 2 Sm 16:15–17:23.
[24] Nm 12:1-15.

we should shun not only the excessively irascible but also the fickle and the suspicious. A great blessing of friendship is the freedom from anxiety with which you entrust and commit yourself to a friend. But how can there be any freedom from anxiety in the love of one who is tossed about in every wind and yields to every word of advice? Such a person can be compared to soft clay, in a single day receiving and manifesting varied and contrary impressions and images at the will of the potter.

**29.** Moreover, what is more consonant with friendship than mutual peace and tranquility of heart, which a suspicious person never shares, *for such a one never relaxes*.[25] A suspicious person is indeed constantly driven by curiosity, which with ever-sharpened spurs constantly goads him to restlessness and anxiety. For if he sees a friend conversing secretly with anyone at all, he suspects a betrayal. If the friend is kind or pleasant to another, he will exclaim that he is himself loved less. If a friend corrects him, he interprets that correction as hatred. If a friend considers him worthy of praise, he willfully interprets the praise as mockery.

**30.** But in my view someone who is verbose should not be chosen either, since *one of many words will not be justified*.[26] "*Do you see someone who is in a hurry to speak*?" asks the Wise One. "*The fool has more hope than he*."[27] Consequently, as a friend you should choose someone whom frenzies of rage do not derange, instability does not tear apart, suspicion does not undermine, and verbosity does not distract from due gravity. It is especially useful for you to choose someone who suits your habits and harmonizes with your character. Indeed, as blessed Ambrose says, "*between the ill-matched, friendship cannot exist, and therefore the graces of each should blend with the other*."[28]

**31.** WALTER. Where, then, will such a candidate be found, who is neither irascible nor fickle nor suspicious? Anyone who is verbose, of course, has no hiding place.

**32.** AELRED. Although one who is rarely moved by these passions is not easily found, still many are found who are above them

[25] RB 64.16.
[26] Cf. Prv 29:20 (LXX); cf. Jb 11:2.
[27] Prv 29:20.
[28] Ambrose, Off 3.133.

all. They overcome anger by patience, check levity by respect for gravity, and banish suspicion by focusing on love. In my view, because of their great experience in conquering vice by virtue, they should be especially welcomed into friendship and kept with greater assurance the more firmly they have been accustomed to counter the assaults of vice.

**33.** WALTER. Please don't be angry if I interrupt. We're sure that your friend, whom Gratian mentioned a short time ago, was accepted into your friendship. I would like to know if you consider him irascible.

**34.** AELRED. He is, indeed, but least of all in friendship.

**35.** GRATIAN. What does it mean, may I ask, not to be irascible in friendship?

**36.** AELRED. Do you grant that there is a bond of friendship between us?

GRATIAN. Absolutely.

AELRED. When have you heard of instances of anger, quarrels, disagreements, rivalry, or strife arising between us?

GRATIAN. Never! But we attribute this not to his patience but to yours.

**37.** AELRED. That is your mistake. In no way will another person's patience curb anger if one's own attachment does not curb it. On the contrary, patience arouses the irascible person to fury,[29] for it frustrates the desire for at least this slight compensation, of provoking a friend to matching abuse. The one we are now discussing so observes the rights of friendship that sometimes when he is disturbed and on the verge of a public outburst I restrain him with only a nod. He never broadcasts the reasons for his displeasure but always waits for privacy to air what is on his mind.

**38.** Now in my judgment, were it not friendship but nature that guided him, he would not be so virtuous or so worthy of praise. But when it sometimes happens that my idea differs from his, we know how to defer to one another in such a way that sometimes he prefers my will to his, but more often I prefer his to mine.

[29] Cf. Cassian, Coll 16.18; cf. Seneca, *De ira* 3.8.5.

**39.** WALTER. Gratian has had answer enough. Now I wish you would explain several cases for me. If someone perhaps incautiously falls into friendships with people who a while ago you said should be avoided, or if people who you said should be chosen should lapse into those vices, or into others perhaps worse, what kind of loyalty should be kept, and what kind of favor shown?

**40.** AELRED. Especially in choosing and testing a friend we should take precautions, if possible, not to set our hearts too quickly, especially on the unworthy. *Now they who have within themselves the reason for being loved are worthy of friendship*.[30] But even among those considered tried and true, *often vices break out, sometimes against their friends, sometimes against others, but in such a way that the disgrace recoils on their friends*.[31] For such friends, every effort should be made that they may be healed.

**41.** But if that should prove impossible, I do not think that the friendship should be abruptly broken off or torn asunder. *Or not*, as someone elegantly said, *unless some insult has flared up that is so intolerable that it is neither right nor honorable to avoid immediate desertion and withdrawal of attachment*.[32] Of course if a friend forms a plot against his father or his country, one that demands sudden and speedy correction, friendship is not violated if that friend is declared a personal enemy and a public foe.

**42.** Other faults exist for which in our judgment, as we explained already, friendship should not be broken off but so gradually dissolved as not to erupt in hostilities, which *beget quarrels, insults, and invectives*.[33] Indeed it is exceedingly *shameful to wage a war of this kind against one with whom you have lived on intimate terms*.[34]

**43.** Nevertheless, in all these ways you may be assailed by one whom you received into your friendship. Some people are of such a temperament that even though they have so lived as to deserve

[30] Cicero, Amic 21.79.

[31] Cicero, Amic 21.76.

[32] Cicero, Amic 21.76; cf. Seneca, *Ep ad Lucilius* 22.3; cf. Jerome, Ep 8.2.

[33] Cicero, Amic 21.78.

[34] Cicero, Amic 21.77.

to be loved no longer, if they suffer some adversity, they make a scapegoat of their friend, claim he has harmed their friendship, and consider suspect all the counsel he has given. When their guilt is revealed, then unmasked and without subterfuge they redouble their hatred and curses against a friend, slandering him in corners, whispering in shadows, excusing themselves with lies, and accusing others.

**44.** If then after your friendship has been lost you are assailed in all these ways, *as long as these attacks are tolerable, they should be endured, and this tribute should be paid to an old friendship, that the agent and not his victim be held responsible for the offense*.[35] Friendship is indeed everlasting. Hence *a friend loves always*.[36] If the person you love harms you, love him still. If he be such that your friendship should be withdrawn, still never let your love be withdrawn. As much as you can, consider his welfare, respect his reputation, and, even if he has betrayed the secrets of your friendship, never betray his.

**45.** WALTER. What are the vices, let me ask, for which you claim that friendship should be gradually dissolved?

**46.** AELRED. The five we described a while ago, but especially the betrayal of secrets and the hidden bite of detraction. To these I add a sixth: if a friend harms those whom you should equally love, and if even after a warning that friend continues to provide the means for ruin and scandal to those for whose well-being you are responsible, especially when the disgrace of those vices touches you yourself. For love should not outweigh religion, loyalty, love of fellow-citizens, or the safety of the people.

**47.** Although King Ahasuerus had considered Haman a friend above all others, he hanged that haughtiest of ministers from the gallows, because he preferred the welfare of the many and the love of his wife to the friendship Haman had injured with his treasonous plots.[37] Although peace existed between Sisera and the house of Heber the Kenite, nevertheless Jael, Heber's wife, preferring the

[35] Cicero, Amic 21.78.
[36] Prv 17:17.
[37] Est 7.

welfare of her people to that friendship, put Sisera to sleep by hammering a nail through his head.[38] The holy prophet David, according to the rights of friendship, should have spared the relatives of Jonathan. But hearing from the Lord that the people had suffered from hunger continuously for three years *on account of Saul and his bloody house, because he killed the Gibeonites*, he gave seven of the men of Jonathan's house to the Gibeonites to be punished.[39]

**48.** I want you not to overlook the fact that among perfect friends, wisely chosen and carefully proved, whom a true and spiritual friendship has united, no discord can bring about a separation. Since friendship *makes one out of two*,[40] just as a unity cannot be divided, so also friendship cannot be divided into two. Obviously, then, a friendship that suffers separation was never a real friendship in that part in which it was harmed, since *a friendship that can end was never genuine*.[41]

**49.** Nevertheless, friendship is a more commendable and more commended virtue in this: that in the friend who has been wounded it continues to be what it was. He loves one who loves him not, honors one who scorns him, blesses one who curses him, and does good to one who plots his ruin.[42]

**50.** GRATIAN. If then one who dissolves a friendship must show such favors to a rejected friend, how is a friendship to be dissolved?

**51.** AELRED. Four qualities seem to be especially characteristic of friendship: love and affection, reassurance and joy. To render service with good will pertains to love, an increasing inner delight pertains to affection, and a communication of all secrets and plans, without fear or suspicion, pertains to reassurance. But what pertains to joyfulness is a kind and friendly exchange about all events whether happy or sad, about all one's thoughts whether harmful or helpful, and about all the lessons one has learned or taught.

[38] Jgs 4:17-22.
[39] 2 Sm 21:1-9.
[40] Ambrose, Off 3.134; cf. Cicero, Amic 21.81.
[41] Jerome, Ep 3.6.
[42] Cf. Lk 6:28.

**52.** Do you see in which of these four aspects friendship is to be withdrawn from those who forfeit it? Surely that inner delight is withheld that was once unfailingly drawn from the breast of a friend. That reassurance vanishes with which one used to reveal confidences to a friend,[43] and that joyfulness disappears that was born of a friendly conversation. Hence, though love must not be withheld, the familiar intimacy of such conversation must be denied to a former friend. This change must proceed with some moderation and respect, so that if the shock is not too great, some vestige of a former friendship may seem to remain forever.

**53.** GRATIAN. Your comments certainly please me.

AELRED. Now indicate whether our remarks on selection are sufficient.

WALTER. I wish that a summary of what you said might be given us as a brief epilogue.

**54.** AELRED. I will humor you. We said that love is the beginning of friendship—not love of just any kind, but love that proceeds from reason and affection together. This love is chaste through reason and pleasant through affection. Then we agreed that a foundation must be laid for friendship, namely, the love of God, to which all suggestions must be referred, to discover whether or not they are conformed to that love.

**55.** Next we concluded that four steps should be constructed on which to climb to the summit of friendship, because a friend must first be chosen, then tested, accepted, and finally treated as a friend deserves. When we discussed the choice of friends, we excluded the irascible, the unstable, the suspicious, and the verbose—not indeed all, but only those who cannot or will not regulate or check these passions. For many affected by such disorders can so control them that not only is their progress in perfection in no way harmed, but their virtue is laudably increased.

**56.** Those who loose the reins and allow themselves to be driven by unbridled passion are always swept headlong into the abyss; inevitably they tumble and fall into the vices through which, ac-

[43] Cf. Ambrose, Off 3.129, 132, 136.

cording to Scripture, friendship is wounded and dissolved—I mean, *into slander, reproach, the betrayal of secrets, pride, and a treacherous blow*.[44]

**57.** If, however, you should suffer all this from one whom you once received into your friendship, we agree that the friendship should not be abruptly broken off but gradually dissolved. Such respect should be kept for your former friendship that even though you exclude your friend from confidences, still you may never withdraw your love from him, refuse him help, or deny him counsel. But if in his folly he should burst out even in blasphemies and curses, still show such respect for your bond, such respect for charity, that the blame falls on the one who inflicts the disgrace and not the one who suffers it.

**58.** But if he proves a menace to his father, his country, his fellow citizens, dependents, or friends, you must immediately sever the bond of familiarity and not prefer the love of one person to the love of many. To avoid such disasters, in choosing friends take care to select one whom neither passion drives nor fickleness draws nor verbosity betrays nor suspicion distracts into such faults. Above all, choose one who does not differ too much from your character or conflict with your disposition.

**59.** Because we are discussing true friendship, which can *exist only among the good*,[45] we have made no mention of the ineligible, about whom there can be no question: the scandalous, the avaricious, the ambitious, and the slanderous.

If you have received enough advice about selecting friends, let us proceed to testing them.

WALTER. Oh, this comes in good time. My eye has been on the door for fear someone might interrupt us, ending our pleasure, adding a bitter note, or introducing something foolish.

**60.** GRATIAN. The cellarer is here. If we allow him to enter, you won't be able to go further. But I'll watch the door, and you, Father, continue what you began.

[44] Si 22:22 [27].
[45] Cicero, Amic 5.18, 18.65.

**61.** AELRED. In a friend, a certain four qualities should be tested: loyalty, right intention, discretion, and patience.

Loyalty: you may confidently entrust to the friend yourself and all that is yours.

Right intention: from friendship the friend may expect nothing but God and the natural blessing of friendship.

Discretion: a person may know, as we believe, what should be offered and what should be asked of a friend, when to condole with or congratulate or even correct the friend, for what reason to do these things, and the right time and place for them.

Patience: when corrected, the friend may not fret or despise or hate the one who corrects him, and he himself may not be ashamed to bear any hardship for his friend.

**62.** In friendship nothing surpasses loyalty, for it seems to be the nurse and guardian of friendship itself.[46] Loyalty proves itself a comrade in everything, in adversity and prosperity, in joyful or sorrowful events, in pleasant or bitter circumstances. Loyalty views with an impartial eye the humble and the exalted, the poor and the rich, the strong and the weak, the healthy and the sick. Indeed a loyal friend contemplates in a friend nothing but his soul. He embraces virtue in its own seat and considers anything else irrelevant, not much caring if it is present or much regretting it if absent.

**63.** Now this loyalty, hidden indeed in prosperity, becomes conspicuous in adversity. "*For in adversity a friend is proved*," as someone says.[47] *A rich man has many friends*,[48] but the onset of poverty tells whether they are friends indeed. "*A friend loves at all times*," says Solomon, "*and a brother is tested in adversity*."[49] Upbraiding the disloyal, elsewhere he says, "*reliance on the untrustworthy in times of hardship is a decaying tooth or a sore foot*."[50]

**64.** GRATIAN. If adversity never interrupts our prosperity, how will a friend's loyalty be tested?

[46] Cf. Cassian, Coll 2.4; cf. Aelred, Inst incl 23.
[47] Ambrose, Off 3.129; cf. Bernard, Ep 125.1.
[48] Prv 14:20.
[49] Prv 17:17.
[50] Prv 25:19.

**65.** AELRED. His loyalty is tested particularly in misfortune, but in much else as well. As we remarked above, nothing injures friendship more than the betrayal of counsel. But here is a Gospel verdict: "*one who is trustworthy in something* small *is trustworthy in something great*."[51] Consequently, to friends whom we still consider to be on trial we believe it necessary not to entrust either all or the deepest secrets, but at first outward or trivial ones, over which we would lose little sleep whether they were kept or not. All the same we should entrust these with as much caution as if revealing them would mean the greatest loss and concealing them the greatest gain.

**66.** If in these you find someone loyal, do not hesitate to test him in greater secrets. Suppose that rumor has spread something damaging about you or that someone has maliciously attacked your reputation. If he can be led neither to believe this by any insinuation nor moved by any suggestion nor troubled by any hesitation, then hesitate no longer about his loyalty but gladly admit that he is loyal and true.

**67.** GRATIAN. Now I recall your friend from overseas, of whom you have often told me. You proved him to be a friend most faithful and true to you, because he not only paid no attention to those who told false tales about you but was also neither disturbed nor shaken by the least doubt. You thought you could not assume as much of your very dear friend, the venerable sacristan of Clairvaux.

Now since we have sufficiently discussed the testing of loyalty, should we proceed to the remaining qualities?

**68.** AELRED. We agreed that intention should also be tested. This step is absolutely necessary. In human affairs many reckon nothing to be good unless it is materially profitable. They love their friends as they love their cattle, *from which they hope to profit*.[52] They certainly lack true and spiritual friendship, which should be sought because of itself and because of God and of themselves. They do

[51] Lk 16:10; cf. Lk 19:17.
[52] Cicero, Amic 21.79.

not behold in themselves a natural exemplar of love, where one easily grasps the *nature and extent of the power* of love.[53]

**69.** Our Lord and Savior himself traced the image of true friendship for us when he said, "*love your neighbor as yourself*."[54] Here is the mirror: love yourself. Yes, clearly, if you love God and are someone suitable for friendship, like those we described earlier. Now tell me: do you conclude that some reward should be exacted from yourself for loving yourself? Not at all, because by nature all are dear to themselves. Therefore, unless you transfer this affection to another, freely loving a friend simply because that person seems to you to be a dear friend by nature, you cannot taste true friendship.

**70.** Then the one you love will indeed be like another self if you pour your love for yourself into him.[55] "*For friendship is not taxation*," as Saint Ambrose says, "*but is full of charm and full of grace. It is a virtue, not commerce, because it gives birth to not money but kindness, is not a negotiation over valuables but a concert of good will*."[56] So the intention of the one chosen must be subtly tested lest he should wish to be linked with you in friendship in the hope of gain, because he calculates friendship as marketable and not voluntary. Often *the friendships of the poor and needy are more reliable than those of the rich*,[57] because poverty may so remove the expectation of gain that it does not diminish friendship but rather increases love.

**71.** Although some like sycophants cultivate the rich, no one behaves hypocritically toward a poor man. Any deference to a poor man is genuine, for friendship with him does not incite envy. We consider these things in order to test our friends' character, not to guess at their net worth. Here is the test for intention: if someone appears to care less for you than for your possessions and always to focus on what benefit you can confer on him, such as position, wealth, fame, or liberty—and then if you promote someone more worthy than he, or if what he seeks is beyond your power, you will easily discern his purpose in fastening upon you.

[53] Cicero, Amic 21.80.
[54] Mt 22:39; cf. Lv 19:18.
[55] Cf. Bernard, Ep 53.
[56] Ambrose, Off 3.134.
[57] Ambrose, Off 3.135.

**72.** Now at last let us examine discretion. Perversely enough, not to say shamelessly, *some wish to acquire a friend better than they can themselves be*.[58] Such persons are also impatient in enduring and severe in correcting the slight faults of their friends. Lacking good judgment, they overlook grave faults and become indignant at every trifle. They confuse everything, disregarding the time, the place, and the persons to whom it is suitable to reveal or conceal the facts. Hence the discretion of a chosen friend must be tested, lest if you adopt as your friend someone improvident or imprudent, you unearth for yourself daily quarrels and lawsuits.

**73.** Surely in friendship it is easy enough to test this virtue, for anyone who lacks it will always be driven along an uncharted and unpredictable course, like a rudderless ship buffeted by the wind. There will be no shortage of occasions for testing the patience of someone you desire as a friend, since it may be necessary to reprove one you love. Sometimes this reproof should be intentionally quite harsh in order to test or exercise the friend's endurance.[59]

**74.** Of course you may find in someone you are testing some traits that offend your spirit, either through careless disclosure of some secret or greed for some temporal gain, through some tactless reprimand or some lack of due gentleness. But you should not immediately abandon your intended preference or choice as long as a glimmer of hope for improvement remains. At the same time, in choosing and testing friends you should not grow weary of caution, for the fruit of this labor is *medicine for life and* the most solid foundation *for immortality*.[60]

**75.** Just as many people are fairly skilled in amassing wealth, in feeding, choosing, and mating oxen and asses, sheep and goats, and as there are reliable signs to guide us in animal husbandry, so it is a mark of folly not to exercise the same care in selecting or testing friends and in learning the signs by which the persons we choose as friends may be proved worthy of friendship.[61] One must certainly

[58] Cicero, Amic 22.82.
[59] Cicero, Amic 24.88.
[60] Si 6:16.
[61] Cf. Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.4.1–7; cf. Cicero, Amic 17.62.

guard against a passionate outburst of love, *which outstrips judgment* and robs it of the power of discrimination.[62]

**76.** Consequently prudent people must stand firm, rein in the outburst, set a limit to their good will, and advance gradually toward attachment,[63] until finally they surrender and commit themselves entirely to their proven friend.

WALTER. I admit that I am still swayed by the opinion of those who think it safer to live without friends of this kind.

**77.** AELRED. That is surprising, since absolutely no life can be pleasing without friends.[64]

WALTER. May I ask you why?

AELRED. Imagine the entire human race banished from the world and you the lone survivor. Now behold before you all the world's delights and riches—gold, silver, precious stones, walled cities, turreted castles, spacious homes, sculptures, and paintings.[65] But also imagine yourself restored to your original state, with all things subject to you, *all the sheep and cattle, and in addition the herds of the fields, the birds of the air, and the fish in the sea, which wander the ways of the sea.*[66] Tell me in turn whether all of these can be pleasing to you without a companion.

WALTER. Not in the least.

**78.** AELRED. What if you had one companion, whose language you did not know, whose customs you did not understand, whose loving spirit eluded you?

WALTER. If I could not succeed in making him a friend by signs, I should prefer none at all to such a friend.

AELRED. If one were present, however, whom you loved as yourself and by whom you would not hesitate to be equally loved, would not everything that previously seemed bitter turn sweet and delicious?

WALTER. Undoubtedly.

[62] Cicero, Amic 17.62.
[63] Cicero, Amic 17.63.
[64] Cicero, Amic 23.87; cf. Cicero, *Pro Plancio* 80.
[65] Cf. Cicero, Amic 23.87.
[66] Ps 8:7-8 [8-9]; cf. Gn 1:28.

AELRED. Isn't it true that the more friends you possessed of that kind the happier you would consider yourself?

WALTER. Quite true.

**79.** AELRED. This is that great and wonderful happiness we await. God himself acts to channel so much friendship and charity between himself and the creatures he sustains, and between the classes and orders he distinguishes, and between each and every one he elects, that in this way each one may love another as himself. By this means each may rejoice over his own happiness as he rejoices over his neighbor's. Thus the bliss of all individually is the bliss of all collectively, and the sum of all individual beatitudes is the beatitude of all together.

**80.** There no thoughts are concealed and no affections disguised. The true and eternal friendship that begins here is perfected there. Here it belongs to the few, for few are good, but there it belongs to all, for there all are good. Here where wise men and fools brush shoulders, testing is needed, but there none is needed, for an angelic and in some ways divine perfection makes everyone happy. Henceforth let us compare to this model the friends we love no less than ourselves, for as all their secrets are revealed to us, so we disclose all ours to them,[67] because in everything they are firm, reliable, and steadfast. Do you think any human exists who does not desire to be so loved?

WALTER. No, not I.

**81.** AELRED. If you saw one person who lived among many and believed that all were suspect, feared that all were plotting his death, loved no one, and thought no one loved him, would you not consider him most miserable?[68]

WALTER. Obviously, most miserable.

AELRED. Then if someone rests close to the heart of those among whom he lives, loving everyone and loved by everyone[69] and not shut out by fear or suspicion from such an undisturbed peace, you would not deny that he is the happiest of all?[70]

[67] Ambrose, Off 3.129, 132, 136.
[68] Cicero, Amic 15.52.
[69] Cf. Aelred, Spec car 1.34.112; cf. Aelred, Bello stand 4.
[70] Cf. Aelred, Spec car 1.34.107–8, 3.39.109–10.

WALTER. No, you are absolutely right.

**82.** AELRED. If perhaps such bliss is hard to discover for all in this life, because it is reserved for us in the future, nevertheless the more such happy souls abound among us here, the more we realize —do we not?—that souls are happier there than we are here.

The day before yesterday as I was walking around the monastery, with the brothers sitting in a most loving circle,[71] I marveled at the leaves, blossoms, and fruits of each single tree as if I were in the fragrant bowers of paradise. Finding not one soul whom I did not love and, I was sure, not one soul by whom I was not loved, I was filled with a joy that surpassed all the delights of the world. Indeed as I felt my spirit flowing into them all and the affection of all coursing through me, I could say with the prophet, "*See how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to live in unity*."[72]

GRATIAN. We are not to assume, are we, that you have received into your friendship all those whom you so love and by whom you are so loved?

**83.** AELRED. With all affection I embrace many whom I do not admit into the intimacies of friendship, which consists especially in communicating all my secrets and aspirations. The Lord says in the Gospel, "*I will no longer call you servants, but friends*."[73] Then, adding the reason for which friends are considered worthy of the name, he says, "*because I have made known to you everything that I have heard from my Father*."[74] And elsewhere, "*you are my friends if you do what I command you*."[75] Saint Ambrose comments on this passage: "*he gave a model of friendship for us to follow so that we might do the will of a friend, open whatever secrets we have in our hearts to our friend, and not be ignorant of his mysteries. Let us show our hearts to him, and let him open his to us. Indeed a friend hides nothing, if he is genuine. He pours out his spirit, just as the Lord Jesus poured out the mysteries of the Father*."[76]

[71] Lat *corona*.
[72] Ps 133 [132]:1.
[73] Jn 15:15.
[74] Jn 15:15.
[75] Jn 15:14.
[76] Ambrose, Off 3.136.

**84.** So says Ambrose. Now how many do I love to whom it would be indiscreet to bare my mind and open my heart in this way, since they are not old enough, mature enough, or discreet enough for such intimacies?

**85.** WALTER. Such friendship is so sublime and perfect that I would not dare aspire to it. For me and Gratian here, the friendship Augustine describes is sufficient: to chat and laugh together, to treat each other kindly, to read or confer together, to be lighthearted or serious together, to disagree at times but without rancor as anyone might argue with himself, and through disagreement now and then to give sparkle to the countless times we agree, to share in turn our experience in teaching or learning, to long for each other anxiously when absent, and gladly to welcome one another's return.[77]

**86.** These and similar signs through lips, tongue, eyes, and a thousand delightful actions well up from the hearts of those giving and receiving love, kindling the spirit and making *one out of many*.[78] In our friends this is what we believe should be loved, so that if we did not love one who returned our love or love in return one who loved us, we should have a guilty conscience.[79]

**87.** AELRED. This is a carnal friendship, especially belonging to adolescents, as were Augustine and the friend of whom we spoke. However, if you avoid childishness and dishonesty, and if nothing shameful spoils such friendship, then in hope of some richer grace this love can be tolerated as a kind of first step toward a holier friendship.[80] As devotion grows with the support of spiritual interests, and as with age maturity increases and the spiritual senses are illumined, then, with affection purified, such friends may mount to higher realms, just as we said yesterday that because of a kind of likeness the ascent is easier from human friendship to friendship with God himself.

[77] Cf. Augustine, Conf 4.4.7.

[78] Cicero, Amic 25.92; cf. Cicero, Amic 21.81; cf. Ambrose, Off 3.134.

[79] Cf. 1 Jn 4:11; cf. Ambrose, Off 2.37; cf. Cicero, Amic 14.49; cf. Augustine, Conf 4.9.1; cf. Bernard, SC 77.5; cf. Bernard, Ep 107.7–8; cf. Bernard, QH 12; cf. Gilbert of Hoyland, SC 29.1 (PL 30.1); cf. Aelred, S 50.5.

[80] Cicero, Amic 6.22.

**88.** But it is time for us to see in turn how friendship should be cultivated. *Now the support of a stable and constant friendship is loyalty, for nothing disloyal is reliable*.[81] In their mutual relationships, friends should in fact be simple, approachable, congenial, and sensitive to the same influences. All this relates to loyalty. A complicated and devious person cannot be loyal, and those who are not touched or moved by the same influences cannot be reliable or loyal.[82]

**89.** Suspicion, the poison of friendship, must be avoided above all things, so that we should never think evil of a friend or give ear or assent to anyone who speaks evil of him. Here one may include a joyful voice, a cheerful countenance, a gentle manner, and a serene look in the eyes, which provide not insignificant seasoning to friendship.[83] Indeed gloom and a long face often suggest genuine solemnity, but at times *friendship should be a little relaxed, somewhat free and gentle, inclined to be congenial and approachable* but without levity or dissipation.[84]

**90.** Moreover, thanks to the influence of friendship, *the greater and the less become equal*.[85] Often persons of lower rank, station, dignity, or knowledge are accepted into friendship by their betters. Then it befits both parties to despise and consider as trifles and vanity everything extraneous to human nature and to focus at all times on the beauty of friendship. This beauty is not ornamented by silk and jewelry, enhanced by possessions, fattened by dainties, enlarged by wealth, exalted by office, or inflated by honors. Reverting to our first origin and probing deeply, let both parties set store by the equality that nature grants rather than by the trappings that cupidity procures for mortals.

**91.** In friendship, then, which is the best gift of nature and of grace together, the lofty steps down and the lowly steps up, the

[81] Cicero, Amic 18.65.

[82] Cf. Cicero, Amic 18.65.

[83] Cassiodorus, *De anima* 13; cf. Aelred, Spec car 1.34.107–8; cf. Aelred, S 51.5; cf. Aelred, S 58.20.

[84] Cicero, Amic 18.66.

[85] Cicero, Amic 19.69; cf. Ambrose, Off 3.128; cf. Augustine, Gen ad litt imp 16.59; cf. Jerome, Comm Michaeam 2.7.5/7.

rich one is impoverished and the poor one enriched.[86] Thus they communicate to one another their own state, with a resulting equality. As it is written, "*the one who gathered much did not have too much, and the one who gathered little did not have too little*."[87] So never prefer yourself to your friend. If perhaps you are found superior in the qualities we mentioned, then do not hesitate to defer to your friend, to show confidence in your friend, to alleviate your friend's diffidence, and to honor your friend the more as his status or poverty demands.[88]

**92.** Jonathan, outstanding among his peers, disregarding his royal lineage and his expectation of the throne, allied himself with David[89] and made that lowly servitor equal to his lord in friendship.[90] Though Jonathan's royal father made David a fugitive, forced him to hide in the desert, and condemned him to death, Jonathan preferred David to himself, exalted him, and humbled himself. "*You will be king*," he said, "*and I will be second after you*."[91] What a splendid picture of true friendship! What an astonishing contrast! The king raged against his servant and aroused the whole country, as if David had been aiming at the crown.[92] He accused the priests of treason and put them to death on a mere suspicion.[93] He combed the woods and searched the valleys, besieged the mountains and crags with an armed guard. Everyone swore to wreak vengeance on the one who caused the king's wrath.[94] Jonathan alone, with more reason for envy, thought that his father should be opposed, that he should put himself at the service of his friend and offer advice in so great a crisis, because Jonathan set friendship above a kingdom. "*You will be king*," he said, "*and I will be second after you*."[95]

[86] Cf. Lk 2:52-53; cf. 1 Sm 2:7-8.
[87] 2 Cor 8:15; cf. Ex 16:18.
[88] Cicero, Amic 8.72; cf. Ambrose, Off 3.133.
[89] 1 Sm 20; cf. Aelred, Spec car 3.12.33, 3.29.69–71.
[90] 1 Sm 23:17.
[91] 1 Sm 23:17.
[92] 1 Sm 23:19-26.
[93] 1 Sm 22:18-19.
[94] 1 Sm 22:6-10; 1 Sm 23:7-8.
[95] 1 Sm 23:17.

**93.** Observe how the father tries to incite his young son against his friend. He covers him with abuse and tries to frighten him with threats, claiming he will be deprived of his kingdom and stripped of his rank. Even when the king imposes the sentence of death on David, Jonathan does not fail his friend. "*Why should David die?*" he asks. "What is his sin? *What has he done? He put his life in your hands, killed the Philistine, and you rejoiced. Why then should he die?*"[96] So maddened is the king at these words that he tries to pin Jonathan to the wall with his spear, adding abuse to his threats: "*son of a wanton more wayward than any man*," he screams, "*to your own and your shameless mother's undoing, I know that you love* David."[97]

**94.** With this he spews out his venom to poison the heart of the lad and utters a taunt to kindle his envy and arouse his jealousy and bitterness: "As long as *the son of Jesse lives, your kingdom* will not be established."[98] Who would not be angered and aroused to envy by this taunt? Whose love, whose favor, whose abiding friendship would not be corrupted, weakened, and destroyed by it? But this youth, supreme in love, reverences the rights of friendship. Unflinching in the face of threats and unmoved by insults, unmindful of fame but mindful of kindness, he despises a kingdom for the sake of friendship. "*You will be king*," he says, "*and I will be second after you*."[99]

**95.** "*A few have been found*," said Cicero, "*who think it squalid to prefer money to friendship. But it is impossible to avoid those who prefer office, civil and military rank, power, and wealth to friendship. When such appointments are put in a balance over against the influence of friendship, such people have a much greater preference for the former. For nature is feeble in despising power.*"[100] "*Where indeed*," he says, "*will you find one who prefers a friend's honor over his own*?"[101] Behold Jonathan, revealed as victorious over nature, despising glory and power, for he preferred

[96] 1 Sm 20:32; 1 Sm 19:4-5.
[97] 1 Sm 20:30.
[98] 1 Sm 20:31.
[99] 1 Sm 23:17.
[100] Cicero, Amic 17.63.
[101] Cicero, Amic 17.64.

a friend's honor to his own, when he said, "*you will be king, and I will be second after you*."[102]

**96.** Here was a genuine, perfect, stable, and lasting friendship, not spoiled by envy or weakened by suspicion or ruined by ambition. This friendship, although so attacked, after such a battering, neither yielded nor collapsed. Though shaken in many a siege it proved unbending, and after many a wound and injury, it remained steadfast. Therefore, *go and do likewise*.[103] But if you judge it hard or even impossible to prefer one you love to yourself, supposing you desire to be a friend, at least do not fail to put that one on an equal footing with yourself.

**97.** Indeed, those who disregard equality do not rightly foster friendship. "*Show deference to a friend as to an equal*," says Ambrose, "*and in offering a service do not be ashamed to forestall a friend in service. For friendship knows nothing of pride*." Be certain that *a faithful friend is medicine for life and a blessing for immortality*.[104]

Now let us consider how friendship should be encouraged by favors. Here let us wrest something from foreign hands. "*Among friends, let this be made a law*," someone says, "*to ask of friends and do for friends what is honorable, always eagerly and promptly, without waiting to be asked. Never hesitate; be always eager.*"[105]

**98.** If we must lose money for a friend, we should spend it so much the more readily for the friend's real advantage and needs. Not all friends have the same potential. One is blessed with ready cash, another with prosperity and estates. One has more worth in counsel, and another holds a higher office. With such assets, prudently weigh what role you should play with a friend. About money, Scripture gives advice in plenty: "*lose money for a friend*," it says.[106] But since the eyes of the wise are in the head,[107] if we are the

[102] 1 Sm 23:17.
[103] Lk 10:37.
[104] Si 6:16; Ambrose, Off 3.128.
[105] Cicero, Amic 13.44.
[106] Si 29:10 [13]; cf. Ambrose, Off 2.37.
[107] Qo 2.14.

members and Christ the head,[108] let us follow the prophet's advice, "*My eyes are always upon the Lord*,"[109] so that we may receive our way of life from him of whom it is written: "*if anyone needs wisdom, let him beg the Lord, who gives to all generously and without reproach*."[110]

**99.** Give to a friend, then, in such a way that you neither reproach nor expect a reward. Neither wrinkle your brow nor turn your face aside nor avert your eyes. With a serene appearance, a cheerful look, and a pleasant voice, anticipate your petitioner. Approach him with kindness so as to seem to be granting his request without being asked.[111] A generous spirit considers nothing more embarrassing than to beg. Now since you and your friend should have but *one heart and one soul*,[112] it is only fitting that you have but one purse. Herein, then, let this practice prevail among friends: that they so spend themselves and their goods on one another[113] that the one who gives can retain a light heart and the one who receives not lose peace of mind.

**100.** When Boaz had noticed the indigence of Ruth the Moabite, as she gathered ears of corn after the harvesters, he spoke to her, consoled her, and invited her to share his servants' meal. He ingeniously spared her embarrassment by ordering the reapers intentionally to leave ears of corn, so that she might gather without humiliation.[114] We also should adroitly find out our friends' needs, forestall any request with our services, and so watch our manner in giving that the one who receives may seem to be granting a greater favor than the one who gives.

WALTER. Since we have no permission to give or receive anything whatever, how can we share this blessing of spiritual friendship?

**101.** AELRED. "*Persons would lead a most happy life*," as the wise man says, "*if from their vocabulary they removed two words: mine and*

[108] Eph 1:22-23; Eph 5:30; Col 1:18.
[109] Ps 25 [24]:15.
[110] Jas 1:5.
[111] Cf. Cicero, Amic 13.44.
[112] Acts 4:32.
[113] Cf. Aelred, Orat past 7.
[114] Ru 2:8-9.

*yours*."[115] Certainly holy poverty, which is holy precisely because it is voluntary, lends great strength to spiritual friendship. Greed kills friendship. Once friendship is born, it is surely more easily fostered the more the soul is found purged of that plague. In spiritual love, however, there are other kinds of blessings through which friends can promote and support each other. First, they can be concerned for each other, pray for each other, feel shame at each other's failures, rejoice in each other's successes, grieve over the other's fall as they would over their own, and appreciate the other's progress as they would their own.[116]

**102.** In whatever way possible, a friend should encourage the diffident, raise the weak, console the downcast, and control the angry.[117] Moreover, one should so respect a friend's presence that he dare not perform anything shameful or speak an unbecoming word, since any fault so reflects on a friend that the friend not only blushes and grieves inwardly but also reproaches himself with what he sees or hears, as if he had committed the sin himself. Indeed a friend believes that even though he be not pardoned himself, his friend should be pardoned. The best companion of friendship, therefore, is respect, and so *he who robs friendship of respect robs it of its greatest ornament*.[118]

**103.** How often a nod from my friend has dimmed or extinguished a flame of wrath lit from inside and about to explode outside! How often a severe look from a friend has choked an unbecoming expression rising in my throat! How often when I had broken into uncontrollable laughter or fallen idle did I recover a proper seriousness when my friend arrived! Moreover, whatever advice one needs is readily accepted from a friend and remembered with less anxiety, because the friend's counsel has great authority,[119] because the friend can certainly be trusted and is immune to the suspicion of flattery.

[115] Pseudo-Seneca, *Monita* 97.

[116] Cf. Rom 12:15; cf. Aelred, Inst incl 28.

[117] Cf. Rom 12:15, 1 Cor 9:22, 1 Thes 5:14; cf. RB 2.31–32; cf. Bernard, Ep 2.7; cf. Aelred, Orat past 7.

[118] Cicero, Amic 22.82.

[119] Cf. Cicero, Amic 13.44.

**104.** Let a friend, then, calmly, clearly, and freely persuade his friend of what is honorable. Friends should not only be warned but even reproved if necessary, because to some people the truth is irksome. According to the poet, truth is the mother of hatred: "*flattery breeds friends; truth begets hatred*."[120] *But any flattery that caters to sin is a much greater burden, because it allows a friend to fall headlong.*[121] A friend is to be most blamed and therefore especially chided if through flattery and adulation he spurns the truth and is driven to wrongdoing. We should honor our friends with kindness and often show them appreciation, but in everything moderation should so guide us that admonitions may be free from bitterness and reproofs from insult.

**105.** Even in honor and appreciation, let there be a gentle and upright courtesy, but let sycophancy, the nursemaid of vice, be sent packing, for she is unworthy of a free man, let alone a friend. But no hope of reform exists for someone whose ears are so closed to truth that he cannot bear to hear it from a friend.[122]

**106.** Therefore, as Ambrose says, "*if you detect some vice in your friend, correct him privately; if he does not listen, correct him publicly. For corrections are good, and often better than an unresponsive friendship. Should a friend think he is being wronged, correct him nonetheless. Even if his soul is wounded by the bitterness of correction, correct him nonetheless. Wounds from a friend are better than the fraudulent kisses of an enemy*."[123] Therefore, *correct an erring friend*.[124] But in correction, above all avoid anger and bitterness of spirit. Otherwise you may seem to wish not to amend a friend so much as to vent your own spleen.

**107.** Indeed, I have observed that in reproving friends some people hide their growing bitterness and overflowing rage under the cloak of zeal or frankness. As a result, because not reason but passion has led them on, such correction has done more harm than good. But there is no excuse for this fault among friends. A friend should sympathize with and make allowance for a friend. He should

[120] Terence, *Andria* 1.1.41.
[121] Cicero, Amic 24.89.
[122] Cicero, Amic 24.88–90.
[123] Prv 27:6.
[124] Ambrose, Off 3.127.

consider his friend's fault his own. He should correct his friend with humility and compassion. His face and voice should show sadness and disappointment, with sobs interrupting his words. His friend should not only see but feel that the correction comes not out of rancor but out of love. Perhaps if your friend rejects the first correction, he will welcome a second. Meanwhile beg him earnestly, your face the picture of sadness, every word reflecting your affection.

**108.** You should also test the nature of his soul. For some, coaxing is effective, and to that they respond more readily. Others will not be cajoled and are more easily corrected by a cutting word or worse.[125] Now a friend should adjust and accommodate himself to suit a friend's disposition.[126] As he ought to support a friend in material adversity, much more should he hasten to confront the enemies of his soul. *Consequently, as it is characteristic of personal friendship to warn and be warned, to warn freely but not harshly and to be warned patiently and without resentment, so we should hold that in friendship no greater plague exists than fawning and flattery*. These things characterize *fickle and unreliable people, for all their words reflect their wishes and not the truth*.[127]

**109.** Among friends let neither indecision nor pretense exist, because both are especially repugnant to friendship. A friend owes a friend *the truth, without which friendship is an empty title*.[128] *The just man*, says holy David, *will correct me in mercy and reproach me, but may the oil of a sinner not anoint my head*.[129] Dissemblers and cheats provoke the wrath of God. So the Lord says through the prophet, "*O my people, they who call you blessed deceive you and destroy the road you walk*."[130] As Solomon says, "*with his voice the dissembler deceives his friend*."[131] Friendship, then, is to be so nurtured that if for certain reasons

[125] Lat *verba uel verbere*.

[126] Cf. Rom 12:15, 1 Thes 5:14; cf. RB 2.31–32; cf. Bernard, Ep 2.7; cf. Aelred, Orat past 7.

[127] Cicero, Amic 25.91.

[128] Cicero, Amic 25.92; cf. Bernard, Epp 35, 78.13.

[129] Ps 141 [140]:5.

[130] Is 3:12.

[131] Prv 11:9; cf. Ps 55:20-21 [54:21-22].

dissembling may perhaps be allowed, still hypocrisy is never admissible.

WALTER. May I ask how dissembling is necessary? For in my opinion it is always a vice.

**110.** AELRED. You are mistaken, son, for even God is said to *ignore*[132] *the sins of wrongdoers, not desiring the death of the sinner but that he be converted and live*.[133]

WALTER. May I ask you to distinguish between lying and dissimulation?[134]

**111.** AELRED. It seems to me that lying is a deceptive consent that contradicts the judgment of reason. Terence expresses it quite elegantly in the persona of Gnatho: "*Does someone say* No? *I repeat* No. *Does someone say* Yes? *I repeat* Yes. *I have finally commanded all things to agree with me*."[135] Perhaps that pagan borrowed these sentences from our treasures and in his own way expressed our prophet's meaning. Clearly this was the prophet's meaning when he made a perverse people exclaim, "*See fantasies for us! Tell us flattering tales!*"[136] And elsewhere: "*The prophets were prophesying falsehoods, my priests clapped their hands, and my people enjoyed such things*."[137] This vice is everywhere detestable, everywhere and always to be guarded against.

**112.** But dissimulation, despite mental reservations, dispenses with or defers punishment or rebuke, on account of the place, time, and person. If anyone accepted as a friend should commit a fault in public, he need not be rebuked instantly and publicly. His behavior must be overlooked in consideration for the place, excused as far as is consistent with the truth, and postponed to await an appropriately private moment for correction. Thus when a mind distracted or preoccupied is unreceptive to the correction required, or when for some other reason the understanding is troubled and

[132] Lat *dissimulare*.
[133] Ws 11:23 [24]; Ez 33:11.
[134] Lat *simulationem et dissimulationem*.
[135] Cicero, Amic 25.93; Terence, *Eunuchus* 252–53.
[136] Is 30:10.
[137] Jr 5:31.

rather too upset for correction, one needs to dissemble until, after the inner turmoil is calmed, the friend can lend a patient ear to the corrector.

**113.** When King David was overcome by lust and added homicide to adultery, as the prophet Nathan set out to rebuke him, out of deference to his royal majesty he was neither hasty nor perturbed in mind in charging so great a man with his crimes. Beginning with a fitting dissimulation, he prudently elicited the king's own verdict against himself.[138]

**114.** WALTER. Your distinction delights me. But if a friend were rather influential and could promote to office or dignity any candidate of his choice, I should like to know whether in such a promotion he should prefer those he loves and by whom he is loved, and whether among the latter he should select one he especially loves over others.[139]

**115.** AELRED. In this area also it is worth exploring how friendships should be fostered. Some persons think they are not loved because they cannot be promoted. They complain that they are despised if they are not involved in the cares of office. We know what great disaffection has arisen between those who were considered friends, followed first by indignation, then estrangement, and finally abusive language. Great caution, therefore, should be exercised in preferment and appointments, especially ecclesiastical. You should weigh not what you can confer but what the one can bear on whom you confer it.

**116.** Many indeed should be loved who should not be promoted to office. I receive many with praise and joy even though I would not involve them in the cares of office without great sin on my part and great peril on theirs. Here then reason must be our guide, not affection. We should impose that burden of office not only on those whose friendship we cherish dearly but on those we consider more able to support it.[140] Where qualifications are found to be equal, however, I have little objection if affection plays some part.

[138] 2 Sm 12:1-15.
[139] Cf. Aelred, Spec car 3.38.106.
[140] Cicero, Amic 20.73.

**117.** Let no one object that he was despised because he was not promoted to office. For that matter, the Lord Jesus preferred Peter to John in a special role. Although he conferred the primacy on Peter, not on that account did he withdraw his affection from John. To Peter he commended his church,[141] but to John he entrusted his dearest mother.[142] To Peter he gave the keys of the kingdom,[143] but to John he unlocked the secrets of his heart.[144] Peter then was more exalted, but John more free from anxiety. Although Peter was confirmed in power, still, when Jesus said "*one of you will betray me*," Peter feared and trembled with the rest.[145] But John, as he leaned on the Lord's breast, becoming bolder, at a nod from Peter asked who was the traitor.[146] Peter, then, was exposed to action, but John was reserved for affection, because the Lord said, "*if I want him to remain until I come*."[147] He gave us *an example indeed, that* we *also should do likewise*.[148]

**118.** Let us offer a friend all our love, our graciousness, our kindness, and our charity, but let us impose vain honors and burdens on those whom reason names. We know that one never really loves a friend if one does not love him for himself, without the addition of trivial and ridiculous honors.[149] We should be very careful, however, not to let tender affection *hinder the opportunities for greater good*, by unwillingness either to send away or to burden those who are especially fond of us when it is clear that by doing so we could hope for a greater good.[150] But well-ordered friendship is this, that reason should so rule affection that we respect not what the sweetness of friends suggests but what the common good demands.[151]

[141] Jn 21:15-17.
[142] Jn 19:26-27.
[143] Mt 16:19.
[144] Jn 13:23; cf. Ambrose, Off 132; cf. Aelred, Inst incl 31; cf. Aelred, Spec car 3.39.110; cf. Aelred, S 15:32–34.
[145] Jn 13:21-22.
[146] Jn 13:23-25.
[147] Jn 21:22.
[148] Jn 13:15.
[149] Cicero, Amic 21.79–80.
[150] Cicero, Amic 20.75.
[151] Cf. Aelred, Spec car 3.18.141; cf. Bernard, Ep 85.3.

**119.** I recall now two of my friends, who although no longer among the living *are still alive for me and always will be*.[152] When I was but a youth, at the beginning of my conversion, I had bound myself to the former of the two, thanks to our likeness in character and similarity of interests.[153] The second was my chosen friend, almost *from the time of his boyhood*.[154] When he had been tested at various times and in various ways, as age was shading my hair, I welcomed him into full friendship.

When I was not yet weighed down with the burden of pastoral care or distracted with anxiety over temporal affairs, I chose the former as a comrade and companion for the spiritual delights and attractions at the cloister, into which I was then being initiated. I exacted and granted nothing but affection and such gentle tokens of affection as charity dictated. When the latter was still a youth, I allowed him to share in my anxieties and to assist in my labors. When in the light of memory I discern the difference between these two friends, I see the former as more reliant on affection and the latter on reason, although in the former there was no lack of reason and in the latter no lack of affection.

**120.** Finally, since the former was snatched from me in the very beginning of our friendship, he was able to be selected but not tested, as we discussed; since the latter was assigned to me and loved by me from his boyhood to middle age, he ascended with me through all the steps of friendship, as far as the imperfection of friendship allows. First, the contemplation of his virtues turned my affection toward him, for long ago I had brought him from southern regions to this northern solitude and was the first to instruct him in regular discipline. From that time, by his conquest of the flesh and endurance of toil and hunger,[155] he was an example to some, the admiration of many, and my own pride and joy. From the beginning I thought he should be trained in the principles of friendship, since I regarded him as a burden to no one and a delight to all.

[152] Cicero, Amic 27.102; cf. Aelred, Sp am 2.5.
[153] Cf. Augustine, Conf 4.4.7.
[154] Gregory, *Dialogi* 2.Prol.
[155] Cf. Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 5.3.

**121.** Hastening in and out at the beck of his elders, he was humble, meek, serious in character, sparing in word, innocent of displeasure, and ignorant of murmuring, rancor, and detraction. He went about as if *deaf and not hearing, like one mute and not opening his mouth*.[156] *He became like a beast of burden*,[157] following the reins of obedience and without fatigue bearing the yoke of regular discipline in mind and body. Admitted to the infirmary once when still a boy, he was rebuked by the holy father, my predecessor, because, while still such a boy, he had so quickly given himself over to rest and inaction! He was so humiliated that when discharged soon afterward, he submitted to corporal exercises so fervently that for many years, even when burdened with serious illness, he allowed himself no respite from his usual strictness.

**122.** In many ways these traits had so implanted him in my heart and so introduced him into my spirit that I raised him from a subordinate to a companion, from a companion to a friend, and from a friend to my dearest friend. Now observing that he had reached some seniority in virtue and grace, and relying on the advice of the brethren, I burdened him with the office of subprior. Despite his reluctance, he modestly accepted this office, because he had totally dedicated himself to obedience. But privately he begged me at length to be relieved of office, pleading his youth, his inexperience, and the friendship that we had then begun, lest perhaps in the circumstances he might either love less or be less loved.[158]

**123.** Having pled to no avail, he began with humility and modesty to declare frankly what he feared for both of us and what displeased him in me, because, as he admitted later, he hoped to irk me by his presumption and so influence me to grant his request. But this openness of mind and expression increased our friendship, because my desire to have him as a friend did not diminish. When he discovered that I was grateful for his comments, responded with humility to each charge, and satisfied him on all counts, and that

[156] Ps 38 [37]:14.
[157] Ps 73 [72]:22.
[158] Cf. Bernard, Ep 85.2.

without causing offense he had reaped a more bountiful reward, he personally began to love me more closely than before, *to give rein to his* affection,[159] and to pour himself unreservedly into my heart. Thus I tested his frankness, and he tested my forbearance.

**124.** Repaying my friend in kind, I thought that when occasion offered, he should not be spared outspoken reproach but be scolded somewhat harshly. I found him neither irritated by nor ungrateful for my frankness. Then I began to disclose to him the secrets of my plans and found him trustworthy. So love between us increased, affection caught fire, and charity grew strong, until we came to the point where we had *one heart and one soul*,[160] *wishing and not wishing the same things*,[161] and this love was void of fear,[162] unaware of insult, free of suspicion, and aghast at flattery.[163]

**125.** Between us there was nothing counterfeit, nothing masked, no dishonest cajolery, nothing immoderately harsh, no side-stepping, no hiding places, but all was open and honest, for somehow I thought my heart his and his mine, just as he thought his heart mine and mine his. So we walked straight ahead as friends, with no becoming indignant over correction, no giving consent in guilt. Hence by showing himself a friend in everything, wherever feasible, he provided for my peace and quiet. He faced dangers personally and diverted incipient scandals.

**126.** Once upon a time, when I desired to grant him some physical alleviation, because he was now becoming infirm, he forbade it with this caution: that our love should not be measured according to the comfort of the flesh, lest this be attributed more to my carnal affection than to his need and that thus my authority might be eroded. He was, then, like my hand or my eye,[164] *the staff of* my *old age*.[165] He was the support of my spirit and a gentle comfort in my

[159] Cf. Cicero, Amic 13.45.
[160] Acts 4:32.
[161] Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 20.4.
[162] Cf. 1 Jn 4:18.
[163] Cf. 1 Cor 13:4-7.
[164] Cf. Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.4.7.
[165] Tb 5:23.

sorrows. His loving heart welcomed me when I was weary from labor, and his counsel refreshed me when I was sinking into sadness and grief.

**127.** He brought me peace in trouble; he calmed my anger. Whatever unpleasantness occurred, I referred to him, so that whatever I could not endure alone I could endure shoulder to shoulder with him. Was that not like the first fruits of bliss, so *to love and* so *to be loved*,[166] to help and to be helped, and from the sweetness of brotherly love to fly aloft toward that higher place in the splendor of divine love, or from the ladder of charity now to soar to the embrace of Christ himself, or, now descending to the love of one's neighbor, there sweetly to rest?[167] Consequently, if in this our friendship, which I have introduced by way of example, you discover something to imitate, make it serve your own progress.

**128.** Finally, to close our conference, with the sun setting fast, have no doubt that friendship grows out of love. If you do not love yourself, how can you love another? For from the likeness of the love with which you are personally dear to yourself, you ought to direct your love for your neighbor.[168] But the one who exacts of himself or inflicts on himself anything disgraceful or dishonest does not love himself.

**129.** The first requirement is that each one purify himself, permitting himself nothing unbecoming, denying himself nothing worthwhile. But one who so loves himself by following those guidelines should also love his neighbors.[169] Now since such love includes many persons, let each one select from among them some to admit on familiar terms to the secrets of friendship and someone on whom to lavish affection, baring the breast to disclose even its veins and sinews, the thoughts and intentions of the heart.[170]

[166] Augustine, Conf 2.2.2, 3.1.1; cf. Aelred, Sp am Prol.1, 2.16; cf. Aelred, Spec car 1.25.71.

[167] Cf. Aelred, Iesu 29–31.

[168] Cf. Mt 22:39; cf. Aelred, Spec car 3.2.3–5.

[169] Cf. Augustine, Sol 1.8.

[170] Cf. Ambrose, Off 3:129, 132, 136.

**130.** Let his choice not follow the wantonness of affection but the insight of reason and be led by a resemblance of character and a regard for virtue. Then let him so devote himself to his friend as to banish all levity, welcome all joy, and provide the services and duties required by good will and charity. As a friend, immediately test trustworthiness, honesty, and patience. Then proceed little by little to shared counsel, dedication to similar pursuits, and a certain similarity of countenance.[171]

**131.** Friends should so resemble each other that at a glance one takes on the expression of the other, whether it is downcast by sorrow or relaxed in joy. When you have assured yourself that a friend so selected and proved desires neither to seek from you anything shameful nor, if asked, to offer you anything shameful, and when you are satisfied that your friend considers friendship a virtue, not a bargain, and that he abhors flattery, detests adulation, and has been found frank but discreet, patient under correction, and strong and constant in affection, then you will experience this spiritual sweetness: "*how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to live in unity*."[172]

**132.** What an advantage it is, then, to grieve for one another, to work for one another, *to bear one another's burdens*,[173] when each finds it a pleasure to disregard himself for the sake of another, to prefer another's will to one's own, to meet another's need rather than one's own, to oppose and expose oneself to adversity! Meanwhile, how delightful friends find their meetings together, the exchange of mutual interests, the exploration of every question, and the attainment of mutual agreement in everything.

**133.** Surpassing all this is prayer for each other.[174] In remembering a friend, the more lovingly one sends forth prayer to God, with tears welling up from fear or affection or grief, the more effective

[171] Cf. Ambrose, Off 3.129.

[172] Ps 133 [132]:1.

[173] Cf. Gal 6:2.

[174] Cf. Jb 42:8-10; cf. Augustine, Ep 145.7; cf. Anselm, "Prayer for Friends," Oratio 18; cf. Pseudo-Seneca, *Monita* 97; cf. Aelred, Inst incl 28.

that prayer will be. Thus praying to Christ for a friend and desiring to be heard by Christ for a friend, we focus on Christ with love and longing. Then sometimes suddenly, imperceptibly, affection melts into affection, and somehow touching the sweetness of Christ nearby, one begins *to taste* how dear he is and experience *how sweet* he is.[175]

**134.** Thus rising from that holy love with which a friend embraces a friend to that with which a friend embraces Christ, one may take the spiritual fruit of friendship fully and joyfully into the mouth, while looking forward to all abundance in the life to come. When the fear is dispelled that now fills us with dread and anxiety for one another, when the hardship is removed that we must now endure for one another, when, moreover, along with death the sting of death is removed[176]—the sting that so often pierces and distresses us and makes us grieve for one another—then with the beginning of relief from care we shall rejoice in the supreme and eternal good, when the friendship to which on earth we admit but few will pour out over all and flow back to God from all, for *God* will be *all in all*.[177]

## Here Ends the Third Book on Spiritual Friendship

[175] Cf. Ps 34:8 [33:9]; cf. [Ps 99:5]; cf. Aelred, Oner 2.36; cf. Aelred, Iesu 8; cf. Walter Daniel, Sent 79.

[176] 1 Cor 15:54-55.

[177] 1 Cor 15:28.

# Select Bibliography

## Editions and Translations of *Spiritual Friendship*


De Briey, Gaëtane, trans. *L'amitié spirituelle*. Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1994.

Delfehdahl, B. "On Human Friendship." *The Life of the Spirit* 8 (1953) 119–28.

Dubois, J., ed. and trans. *L'amitié spirituelle*. Bibliothèque de Spiritualité Médiévale. Bruges and Paris: Éditions Ch. Breyaert, 1948.

Dumont, Charles, trans. *Le miroir de la charité; Sermons; De l'amitié spirituelle*. Namur: Éditions du Soleil Levant, 1961.

Egenter, Richard, trans. *Gottesfreundschaft. Die Lehre von der Gottesfreundschaft in der Scholastik und Mystik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*. Augsburg: B. Filser Verlag, 1928. 226–30.

Gasparotto, Pietro M., trans. *L'amicizia spirituale*. Siena: Edizioni Cantagalli, 1960.

Geremia, F., ed. *La perfetta amicizia*. Trans. A. Castagnoli. Milan: CENS, 1990.

Gibbons, Richard, ed. "De spirituali amicitia." *Opera Divi Aelredi Rievallensis*. Douai, 1616. 430–74.

Hoste, Anselm, and C. H. Talbot, eds. "De spirituali amicitia." Aelredi Rievallensis, *Opera omnia*. CCCM 1. Turnhout: Brepols, 1971. 279–352.

Ingham, Frans, trans. *Aelred de Rievaulx: Traité de l'amitié spirituelle*. Brussels: Cité Chrétienne, 1937.

Jerome, M. Francis, trans. *Of Spiritual Friendship. A Translation of the* De Spirituali Amicitia *of S. Aelred (1109–1166)*. Paterson, NJ: Saint Anthony's Guild, 1948.

Laker, M. E., trans. *Spiritual Friendship*. CF 5. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1977.

Migne, J.-P., ed. "De spirituali amicitia." *Beati Aelredi Rievallis abbatis. Operum pars prima.—Ascetica*. Paris, 1855. PL 195:659–702.

Otten, Karl, trans. *Die heilige Freundschaft Des hl. Abtes Aelred von Rieval Büchlein "De spirituali Amicitia."* Munich: Theatiner-verlag, 1927.

Pezzini, Domenico, trans. *L'amicizia spirituale*. Milan: Figlie de San Paolo, 1996.

Talbot, Hugh, trans. *Christian Friendship by S. Aelred of Rievaulx*. London: Catholic Book Club, 1942.

Tissier, Bertrand, ed. *Opera B. Aelredi*. Bibliotheca Patrum Cisterciensium. Bono Fonte, 1662. 362–80.

Williams, Mark F., trans. *Aelred of Rievaulx's* Spiritual Friendship. Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 1994, 2002.

Zuanazzi, Giovanni. *L'amicizia spirituale*. Rome: Città Nuova, 1997.

## Editions and English Translations of Other Works by Aelred

Aelred of Rievaulx. "Ailredi Abbatis Rievallensis Historia de bello standardii tempore Stephani Regis," "Genealogia regum Anglorum," "Vita et miraculis Edwardi Regis et Confessoris," "De quodam miraculo mirabili." *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores* X. Ed. Roger Twysden and John Selden. 2 vols. London: Cornelius Bee, 1652. 333–422.

———. *Beati Aelredi Rievallis abbatis. Opera* 1855. PL 195:209–638, 701–96.

———. "De sanctis ecclesiae Hagulstaldensis." *The Priory of Hexham*. Ed. James Raine. Surtees Society 44. Durham: Andrews, 1864. 173–203.

———. *Dialogue on the Soul*. Trans. C. H. Talbot. CF 22. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1981.

———. *For Your Own People: Aelred of Rievaulx's* Pastoral Prayer. Ed. and intro. Marsha L. Dutton. Trans. Mark DelCogliano. CF 73. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2008.

———. *The Historical Works*. Ed. and intro. Marsha L. Dutton. Trans. Jane Patricia Freeland. CF 56. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2005.

———. *Homeliae de Oneribus Propheticis Isaiae*. Ed. Gaetano Raciti. CCCM 2D. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.

———. "*In translacione sancti Edwardi confessoris:* The Lost Sermon by Aelred of Rievaulx Found?" Ed. Peter Jackson. Trans. Tom License. CSQ 40 (2005) 46–83.

———. "Jesus at the Age of Twelve." Trans. Theodore Berkeley. *Aelred of Rievaulx: Treatises and Pastoral Prayer*. CF 2. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1971. 3–39.

———. *The Liturgical Sermons: The First Clairvaux Collection*. Trans. Theodore Berkeley and M. Basil Pennington. CF 58. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2001.
———. *Lives of the Northern Saints*. Ed. and intro. Marsha L. Dutton. Trans. Jane Patricia Freeland. CF 71. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2006.
———. *The Mirror of Charity*. Trans. Elizabeth Connor. CF 17. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990.
———. *Opera Omnia 1, Opera Ascetica*. Ed. Anselm Hoste and C. H. Talbot. CCCM 1. Turnhout: Brepols, 1971.
———. "The Pastoral Prayer." Trans. R. Penelope Lawson. *Aelred of Rievaulx: Treatises and Pastoral Prayer*. CF 2. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1971. 103–18.
———. "Relatio Venerabilis Aelredi, Abbatis Rievallensis, de Standardo." *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I*. Ed. Richard Howlett. 3 vols. Rolls series. London, 1884–86. 3:lviii–lx, 179–99.
———. "A Rule of Life for a Recluse." Trans. Mary Paul Macpherson. *Aelred of Rievaulx: Treatises and Pastoral Prayer*. CF 2. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1971. 41–102.
———. *Sermones*. Ed. Gaetano Raciti. CCCM 2A, 2B. Turnhout: Brepols, 1989, 2001.
———. "Vita Niniani ab Ailredo" and "Eulogium Davidis ab Ailredo." *Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum qui Habitaverunt in ea parte Britanniæ nunc vocata Scotia vel in ejus insulis*. Ed. Johannes Pinkerton. London: Johannis Nichols, 1789. [xix]–[xx], 1–23, 437–56.

## Medieval and Patristic Works

Ambrose of Milan. *De officiis*. Ed., trans., and intro. Ivor J. Davidson. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
———. *De officiis ministrorum*. Ed. Maurice Testard. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.
Anselm. *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm with the Proslogion*. Trans. Benedicta Ward. London: Penguin, 1973.
———. *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*. Ed. F. S. Schmitt. 3 vols. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1946.
Aristotle. *Nichomachean Ethics*. Trans. Martin Ostwald. Indianapolis: Dobbs-Merrill, 1962.
Augustine. *Confessions*. Trans. R. S. Pine-Coffin. Baltimore: Penguin, 1961.

———. *Confessionum Libri XIII*. Ed. Lucas Verheijen. CCSL 27. Turnhout: Brepols, 1981.

———. *De libero arbitrio*. Ed. William M. Green. Vindobonae: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1956.

Bernard of Clairvaux. *On the Song of Songs I, II, III, IV*. Trans. Kilian Walsh and Irene M. Edmonds. CF 4, 7, 31, 40. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1976, 1979, 1980.

———. *Sancti Bernardi Opera*. Ed. Jean Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais. 8 vols. Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–79.

Canivez, J. *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*. 8 vols. Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933–41.

Cassian. *Collationes*. Ed. Michael Petschenig. CSEL 13. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004.

Cassiodorus. *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning* and *On the Soul*. Trans. James W. Halporn. Intro. Mark Vessey. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004.

———. *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Senatoris Opera*. 3 vols. CCSL 96–98. Turnhout: Brepols, 1958–73.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. "The Canterbury Tales." *The Riverside Chaucer*. Gen. ed. Larry D. Benson. 3rd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987. 3–328.

*Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense*. Ed. J. A. Giles. Caxton Society 2. London, 1845.

Cicero. "De amicitia." *De senectute, De amicitia, De divinatione*. Trans. William Armistead Falconer. Loeb Classical Library. London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953. 103–211.

———. *De divinatione; De fato; Timaeus*. Ed. Remo Giomini. Leipzig: Teubner, 1975.

———. *De inventione*. Trans. H. M. Hubbell. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1949.

———. *De officiis*. Trans. Walter Miller. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1961.

Dante Alighieri. *Comedia Divina: Inferno*. Ed. and trans. John D. Sinclair. New York: Oxford University Press, 1939.

Davy, M. M. *Un traité de l'amour au XII^e siècle: Pierre de Blois*. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1932.

Delhaye, Philippe. "Deux adaptations du 'De Amicitia' de Cicéron au XII^e siècle." RTAM 15 (1948) 304–31.

Euripides. *Hippolytus*. Harvard Classics vol. 8 part 7. New York: P. F. Collier and Son Co., 1909–14.

Gilbert of Hoyland. *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*. PL 184:11–252.

———. *Sermons on the Song of Songs*. Trans. Lawrence C. Braceland. 3 vols. CF 14, 20, 26. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1978, 1979.

Gregory I. *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great*. Book two: *Saint Benedict*. Trans. and Intro. Myra L. Uhlfelder. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967.

Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun. *Le Roman de la Rose*. Ed. Armand Strubel. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984.

———. *Romance of the Rose*. Trans. Harry W. Robbins. Ed. Charles W. Dunn. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1962.

Isidore of Seville. "Etymologiarum libri XX." *Opera Omnia*. PL 82:9–727.

Jerome. *Epistularum Pars 1. Epistulae I–LXX*. Ed. Isidorus Hilberg. CSEL 54. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996.

———. *Opera*. Ed. Francisco Glorie. CCSL 75–76. Turnholt: Brepols, 1964, 1969.

Julianus Pomerius. *The Contemplative Life*. Trans. Sr. Mary Josephine Suelzer. Ancient Christian Writers 4. Westminster, MD: The Newman Bookshop, 1947.

Mansi, Johannes Dominicus. *Sacrorum conciliorum . . . collectio*. Florence, 1775.

Ovid. *Tristia; Ex Ponto*. Trans. Arthur Leslie Wheeler. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965.

Peter Lombard. *The Sentences*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2007–8.

———. *Sententiarum Libri Quatuor*. Paris: Louis Vives, Libraire-Éditeur, 1892.

Pseudo-Ignatius. "Epistula ad Trallianos." *S. Ignatii et S. Polycarp: Martyria*. 2 vols. Ed. William Jacobson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1863. 2:374–77.

Reginald of Durham. *Libellus de vita et miraculis Sancti Godrici heremitæ de Finchale*. Surtees Society 20. London: Johannes Nichols, 1847.

Richard of Hexham. "Prior Richard's History of the Church of Hexham." *The Priory of Hexham*. Ed. James Raine. Surtees Society 44. Durham: Andrews, 1864.

*Sacramentarium Veronense*. Ed. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg. Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Series Maior: Fontes I. Rome: Casa Editrice Herder, 1966.

Sallust. *Bellum Catilinae*. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984.

———. *Catiline's War, The Jugurthine War*, Histories. Trans. A. J. Woodman. Leiden: Penguin, 2007.

Schilling, Raymundus. "Aelredus van Rievaulx: Deus Amicitia Est." Cîteaux 8 (1957) 13–26.

Seneca. *De ira*. Pisa: Giardini Editori e Stampatori in Pisa, 1981.

———. *Senecae ad Lucilium: Epistulae Morales*. Ed. L. D. Reynolds. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1965.

Terence. *Andria*. Intro. and commentary G. P. Shipp. Salem, NH: Ayer Co., 1984.

———. *Eunuchus*. Ed. John Barsby. Cambridge (UK) and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Waddell, Chrysogonus. *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*. Studia et Documenta vol. 9. Cîteaux, 1999.

Walter Daniel. *Centum Sententiae*. Ed. C. H. Talbot. *Sacris Erudiri* 11 (1960) 266–374.

———. "Lament for Aelred." *The Life of Aelred of Rievaulx*. Trans. Jane Patricia Freeland. CF 57. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984. 140–46.

———. *The Life of Aelred of Rievaulx* and *The Letter to Maurice*. Trans. Maurice Powicke. Intro. Marsha L. Dutton. CF 57. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984.

———. *Vita Ailredi Abbatis Rievall'*. Ed. and trans. Maurice Powicke. London: Nelson, 1950. Rept. 1978.

"The Wanderer." *A Choice of Anglo-Saxon Verse*. Ed. and trans. Richard Hamer. London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1970. 172–83.

———. *The Exeter Book*. Ed. George Philip Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1936. 134–37.

William of Saint Thierry. *De contemplando Deo. La Contemplation de Dieu*. Ed. and trans. Jacques Hourlier. 2d ed. SCh 61bis. 1959; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1977.

———. *Exposition on the Song of Songs*. Trans. Columba Hart. CF 6. Shannon: Cistercian Publications, 1970.

———. *Expositio super Cantica canticorum; Brevis commentatio; Excerpta de libris beati Ambrosii super Cantica canticorum; Excerpta ex libris beati Gregorii super Cantica canticorum*. Ed. Paul Verdeyen, Stanislaus Ceglar, and Antony van Burink. CCCM 87. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997.

———. *The Golden Epistle: A Letter to the Brethren at Mont Dieu*. Trans. Theodore Berkeley. Intro. J. M. Déchanet. CF 12. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1980.

———. *Lettre aux frères du Mont-Dieu (Lettre d'Or)*. Ed. and trans. J. Déchanet. SCh 223. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1975.

———. *On Contemplating God; Prayer; Meditations*. Trans. R. Penelope Lawson. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1977. 36–64.

Xenophon. *Memorabilia*. Ed. Josiah Renick Smith. Salem, NH: Ayer Co., 1985.

## Studies

Barstow, Anne L. *Married Priests and the Reforming Papacy: The Eleventh-Century Debates*. New York: Mellen, 1982.

Belisle, Augustin. "The Pastoral Spirituality of Aelred of Rievaulx." SM 25 (1983) 93–113.

Bell, David N. "Aelred of Warden: A Man Who Never Was." SM 29 (1987) 265–72.

———. "The Cistercian Authors in the *Registrum Librorum Anglie*." *Erudition at God's Service: Studies in Medieval Cistercian History, X*. Ed. John R. Sommerfeldt. CS 98. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1987. 291–313.

———. *The Image and the Likeness: The Augustinian Spirituality of William of Saint-Thierry*. CS 78. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984.

———. *An Index of Authors and Works in Cistercian Libraries in Great Britain*. CS 130. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1992.

Boquet, Damien. *L'Ordre de l'affect au Moyen Âge: Autour de l'anthropologie affective d'Aelred de Rievaulx*. Caen: CRAHM, 2005.

Boularand, Ephrem. "L'amitié d'aprés saint Ambroise dans le 'De Officiis ministrorum.'" *Bulletin de littérature Ecclésiastique* 73 (1972) 103–23.

Brooke, Christopher. "Gregorian Reform in Action: Clerical Marriage in England, 1050–1200." *Cambridge Historical Journal* 12 (1956) 1–21.

Brown, Peter. *Augustine of Hippo*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967.

Burton, Janet. "Rievaulx Abbey: The Early Years." *Perspectives for an Architecture of Solitude: Essays on Cistercians, Art and Architecture in Honour of Peter Fergusson*. Ed. Terryl Kinder. Medieval Church Studies 11. Cîteaux: Studia et Documenta 13. Turnhout: Brepols, and Cîteaux, 2004. 47–54.

Burton, Pierre-André. "À propos de l'amitié dans la doctrine spirituelle d'Aelred." Coll 58 (1996) 243–61.

———. "Aux origines de l'expansion anglaise de Cîteaux." Coll 61 (1999) 186–214, 248–90.

———. *Bibliotheca Aelrediana Secunda: Une Bibliographie Cumulative (1962–1996)*. Textes et Études de Moyen Âge 7. Louvain-la-Neuve, 1997.

———. "La déclaration sur 'l'identité laïque cistercienne' passée au crible de *l'Amitié Spirituelle* d'Aelred de Rievaulx." Coll 71 (2009) 315–37.

———. "Le traité sur *l'Amitié spirituelle*. Ou les trois derniers cercles de l'amour." Coll 64 (2002) 197–218.

Carmichael, E. D. H. *Friendship: Interpreting Christian Love*. London: T&T Clark International, 2004.

Courcelle, Pierre. "Aelred de Rievaulx à l'école des 'Confessions.'" *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 3 (1957) 163–74.

———. *Recherches sur les Confessions de saint Augustine*. Paris: Boccard, 1950.

Coyle, Alcuin. "Cicero's *De Officiis* and *De Officiis Ministrorum* of St. Ambrose." *Franciscan Studies* 15 (1955) 224–56.

Delhaye, Philippe. "Deux adaptations du 'De amicitia' de Cicéron au XII^e siècle." RTAM 15 (1948) 304–31.

Dietz, Elias. "Aelred on the Capital Vices: A Unique Voice among the Cistercians." CSQ 43 (2008) 271–93.

Dumont, Charles. "Aelred of Rievaulx's *Spiritual Friendship*." *Cistercian Ideals and Reality*. Ed. John R. Sommerfeldt. CS 60. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1978. 187–98. Trans. in Dumont, *Une éducation*, 349–58.

———. Introduction to Aelred of Rievaulx, *The Mirror of Charity*. Trans. Elisabeth Connor. CF 17. Kalamazoo: Cistercian, 1990. 55–59.

———. "L'amour fraternal dans la doctrine monastique d'Aelred de Rievaulx." Coll 51 (1989) 79–88. Rept. in Dumont, *Une éducation*, 335–48.

———. "Le personnalisme communautaire d'Aelred de Rievaulx." Coll 39 (1977) 129–48. Rept. in Dumont, *Une éducation*, 309–34.

———. "L'équilibre humain de la vie cistercienne d'après le Bienheureux Aelred de Rievaulx." Coll 18 (1964) 177–89.

———. *Une éducation du cœur: La spiritualité de saint Bernard et de saint Ælred*. Pain de Cîteaux, series 3, 10. Oka, 1996. 191–415.

Dutton, Marsha L. "Aelred of Rievaulx on Friendship, Chastity, and Sex: The Sources." CSQ 29 (1994) 121–96.

———. "The Conversion and Vocation of Aelred of Rievaulx: A Historical Hypothesis." *England in the Twelfth Century*. Ed. Daniel Williams. London: Boydell, 1990. 31–49.

———. "Eat, Drink, and Be Merry: The Eucharistic Spirituality of the Cistercian Fathers." *Erudition at God's Service: Studies in Medieval*

*Cistercian History, XI*. Ed. John R. Sommerfeldt. CS 98. Kalamazoo: Cistercian, 1987. 1–32.

———. "Friendship and the Love of God: Augustine's Teaching in the *Confessions* and Aelred of Rievaulx's Response in *Spiritual Friendship*." ABR 56 (2005) 3–40.

———. "A Historian's Historian: The Place of Bede in Aelred's Contributions to the New History of his Age." *Truth as Gift: Studies in Cistercian History in Honor of John R. Sommerfeldt*. Ed. Marsha L. Dutton, Daniel M. La Corte, and Paul Lockey. CS 204. Kalamazoo: Cistercian, 2004. 407–48.

———. "Intimacy and Imitation: The Humanity of Christ in Cistercian Spirituality." *Erudition at God's Service: Studies in Medieval Cistercian History, XI*. Ed. John R. Sommerfeldt. CS 98. Kalamazoo: Cistercian, 1987. 33–69.

———. "*Sancto Dunstano Cooperante*: Collaboration between King and Ecclesiastical Advisor in Aelred of Rievaulx's *Genealogy of the Kings of the English*." *Religious and Laity in Northern Europe 1000–1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*. Ed. Emilia Jamroziak and Janet Burton. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007. 183–95.

Fiske, Adele M. "Aelred of Rievaulx's Idea of Friendship and Love." Cîteaux 13 (1962) 5–17, 97–132.

———. "Paradisus homo Amicus." *Speculum* 40 (1965) 436–59.

———. "The Survival and Development of the Ancient Concept of Friendship in the Early Middle Ages." Ph.D. dissertation. Fordham University. 1955.

Fleming, John V. *Reason and the Lover*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Freeman, Elizabeth. "Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Bello Standardii*: Cistercian Historiography and the Creation of Community Memories." Cîteaux 49 (1998) 5–28.

Friedman, Lionel J. "Jean de Meun and Ethelred of Rievaulx." *L'Esprit Créateur* 2 (1962) 135–41.

Hallier, Amédée. "God is Friendship: the Key to Aelred of Rievaulx's Christian Humanism." ABR 18 (1967) 393–420.

———. *The Monastic Theology of Aelred of Rievaulx: An Experiential Theology*. Trans. Columban Heaney. CS 2. Shannon: Cistercian Publications, 1969.

———. *Un éducateur monastique: Aelred de Rievaulx*. Paris: J. Gabalda & Cie, 1959.

Haseldine, Julian. "Friendship, Equality, and Universal Harmony: The Universal and the Particular in Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Spirituali*

*Amicitia*." *Friendship East and West: Philosophical Perspectives*. Ed. Oliver Leamon. Richmond, Surrey (UK): Curson, 1996. 192–214.

Heusch, Heinrich. "Zum Proömium von Ciceros Laelius." *Rheinisches Museum* 96 (1953) 67–77.

Hoste, Anselm. *Bibliotheca Aelrediana*. Instrumenta Patristica 2. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1962.

———. "A Survey of the Unedited Work of Laurence of Durham, with an Edition of his Letter to Aelred of Rievaulx." *Sacris Erudiri* 11 (1960) 249–63.

Hyatte, Reginald. *The Arts of Friendship*. Leiden, New York, Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1994.

Jaeger, C. S. *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

Knowles, David. "The Case of Saint William of York." *The Historian and Character*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963. 76–97.

La Corte, Daniel M. "Abbot as *Magister* and *Pater* in the Thought of Bernard of Clairvaux and Aelred of Rievaulx." *Truth as Gift: Studies in Cistercian History in Honor of John R. Sommerfeldt*. Ed. Marsha L. Dutton, Daniel M. La Corte, and Paul Lockey. CS 204. Kalamazoo: Cistercian, 2004. 377–405.

Laurand, Louis. *Études sur le style des discours de Cicéron*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936.

Leach, Elinor. "Absence and Desire in Cicero's *De Amicitia*." *Classical World* 87 (1993) 3–20.

Mauro, Letterio. "L'amicizia come compimento di umanità nel 'De Spirituali Amicitia' di Aelredo di Rievaulx." *Rivista di Filosofia Neoscolastica* 66 (1974) 89–103.

Mayeski, Marie Anne. "Like a boat is marriage": Aelred on Marriage as a Christian Way of Life." *Theological Studies* 70 (2009) 92–108.

McEvoy, James. "Notes on the Prologue of St Aelred of Rievaulx's 'De Spirituali Amicitia', with a Translation." *Traditio* 37 (1981) 396–411.

———. "*Philia* and *amicitia*: The Philosophy of Friendship from Plato to Aquinas." *Sewanee Medieval Colloquium*, occasional papers 2 (1984) 1–21.

———. "The Theory of Friendship in the Latin Middle Ages: Hermeneutics, Contextualization and the Transmission and Reception of Ancient Texts and Ideas, from c. A.D. 350 to c. 1500." *Friendship in Medieval Europe*. Ed. Julian Haseldine. Stroud: Sutton, 1999. 3–44.

McGuire, Brian Patrick. *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience (350–1250)*. CF 95. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1988.

Merton, Thomas. "St Aelred of Rievaulx and the Cistercians (III)." Ed. Patrick Hart. CSQ 22 (1987) 55–75.

Miquel, Pierre. "Spécificité et caractères de l'expérience spirituelle chez Aelred de Rievaulx." Coll 29 (1967) 3–11.

Noell, Brian. "Aelred of Rievaulx's Appropriation of Augustine: A Window on Two Views of Friendship and the Monastic Life." CSQ 37 (2002) 123–44.

Paolini, R. "La 'Spiritualis Amicitia' in Aelred di Rievaulx." *Aevum* 42 (1968) 455–73.

Pizzolato, Luigi Franco. *L'idea di amicizia nel mondo antico classico e cristiano*. Turin: G. Einaudi, 1993.

Powicke, F. M. *Ailred of Rievaulx and his Biographer Walter Daniel*. Manchester: The University Press, 1922.

Raciti, Gaetano. "L'apport original d'Aelred de Rievaulx à la réflexion occidentale sur l'amitié." Coll 29 (1967) 77–99.

Ruch, Michel. *Le préambule dans les oeuvres philosophiques de Cicéron*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1958.

Rüffer, Jens. "Aelred of Rievaulx and the Institutional Limits of Monastic Friendship." *Perspectives for an Architecture of Solitude: Essays on Cistercians, Art and Architecture in Honour of Peter Fergusson*. Ed. Terryl Kinder. Medieval Church Studies 11. Cîteaux: Studia et Documenta 13. Turnhout: Brepols, and Cîteaux, 2004. 55–62.

Slater, Isaac. "*Exuberantissimus Amor*: Cassian on Friendship." CSQ 44 (2009) 129–44.

Sommerfeldt, John R. *Aelred of Rievaulx: On Love and Order in the World and the Church*. New York and Mahwah, NJ: The Newman Press, 2006.

———. *Aelred of Rievaulx: Pursuing Perfect Happiness*. New York and Mahwah, NJ: The Newman Press, 2005.

———. "The Vocabulary of Contemplation in Aelred of Rievaulx' *On Jesus at the Age of Twelve, A Rule of Life for a Recluse,* and *On Spiritual Friendship*." *Heaven on Earth: Studies in Medieval Cistercian History, IX*. Ed. E. Rozanne Elder. CS 68. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1983. 72–89.

Squire, Aelred. *Aelred of Rievaulx: A Study*. CS 50. 1969; Kalamazoo: Cistercian Studies, 1981.

Stiegman, Emero. " 'Woods and Stones' and 'The Shade of the Trees' in the Mysticism of Saint Bernard." *Truth as Gift: Studies in Cistercian History in Honor of John R. Sommerfeldt*. Ed. Marsha L. Dutton, Daniel

M. La Corte, and Paul Lockey. CS 204. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2004. 321–54.

TePas, Katherine. "Amor, Amicitia and Misericordia: A Critique of Aelred's Analysis of Spiritual Friendship." *The Downside Review* 112 (1994) 249–63.

———. "Spiritual Friendship in Aelred of Rievaulx and Mutual Sanctification in Marriage." CSQ 27 (1992) 63–76, 157–80.

Testard, Maurice. *Saint Augustine et Cicéron*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1958.

Valenziano, Crispino. "Aelredo di Rievaulx e la sua teoria d'amicizia." *Giornale di Metafisica* 24 (1969) 255–78.

Vansteenberghe, G. "Deux théoriciens de l'amitié au XIIe siècle: Pierre de Blois et Aelred de Rivaulx." *Révue des Sciences Religieuses* 12 (1932) 572–88.

White, Lewis. "*Bifarie itaque potest legi*: Ambivalent Exegesis in Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Oneribus*." CSQ 42 (2007) 299–327.

# Appendix

Headings and subheadings from
J. Dubois's 1948 French translation
Book and paragraph numbers from the
translation in this volume


**Prologue** Prol. 1

**First Discussion:**
**Essence and Origin of Friendship** 1.1

Introduction 1.1

I. Nature of Friendship 1.10
1. Cicero's definition 1.10
2. The virtue of friendship 1.18
3. False friendships; true friendship 1.33

II. Origin of Friendship 1.50
1. Nature 1.51
2. Experience 1.58
3. Law 1.60

Conclusion: Friendship and Wisdom 1.61

**Second Discussion:**
**The Value and Limits of Friendship** 2.1

Preamble 2.1
1. Introduction of Walter 2.1
2. Recollection of the previous discussion 2.4

I. The Value of Friendship 2.8
1. Its advantages 2.9
2. Friendship, a step toward perfection 2.18

II. Limits of Friendship 2.28
1. Entry into the material 2.28
2. The true limit: of good and of evil 2.33
3. Do not flee friendship as a burden 2.45
4. False friendships 2.53

Epilogue 2.64
1. Summary of what has been said on the limits of friendship 2.64
2. Subject of the next discussion 2.71

**Third Discussion: Choice and Trial of Friends; The Excellence and Practice of Friendship** 3.1

Preamble 3.1

I. The choice of a friend 3.14
1. Avoid the irascible 3.15
2. Five vices that dissolve friendship 3.21
3. Other inhibiting vices 3.28
4. Where can one find an ideal friend? 3.31
5. How to behave if defects appear after one chooses 3.39
6. Reasons to rupture friendship 3.45
7. Summary of points 3.53

II. The trial of a friend 3.59
1. Trial of loyalty 3.62
2. Trial of intention 3.68
3. Trial of discretion and of patience 3.72
4. Some advice 3.74

III. The excellence of friendship 3.76
1. The happiness brought by friendship 3.77
2. Friendship is intimacy 3.82
3. The simplest form: camaraderie 3.85

IV. The practice of friendship 3.88
1. Various precepts 3.88
2. Equality among friends 3.90
3. The art of giving 3.97
4. Should one promote friends? 3.114
5. Recollections 3.119
Summary and final farewell 3.128

# Index A: Scriptural Citations and Allusions

Column one indicates the Scriptural reference, column two gives its location by book and section in *Spiritual Friendship*, and column three indicates its page number or numbers in this volume. Citations to the Vulgate are in brackets.


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Genesis* | | |
| 1:28 | 3.77 | 106 |
| 2:18 | 1.57 | 66 |
| 2:21-22 | 1.57 | 66 |
| 3:6 | 2.40 | 79 |
| *Exodus* | | |
| 5:14 | 2.2 | 70 |
| 16:18 | 3.91 | 111 |
| *Leviticus* | | |
| 19:18 | 3.69 | 104 |
| *Numbers* | | |
| 12:1-15 | 3.28 | 94 |
| 15:39 | 1.39 | 62 |
| *Judges* | | |
| 4:17-22 | 3.47 | 99 |
| *Ruth* | | |
| 2:8-9 | 3.100 | 114 |
| *1 Samuel [1 Kings]* | | |
| 2:7-8 | 3.91 | 111 |
| 19–20 | 2.63 | 85 |
| 19:4-5 | 3.93 | 112 |
| 20 | 3.92 | 111 |
| 20:30 | 3.93 | 112 |
| 20:31 | 3.94 | 112 |
| 20:32 | 3.93 | 112 |
| 22:6-10 | 3.92 | 111 |
| 22:17-18 | 2.40 | 79 |
| 22:18-19 | 3.92 | 111 |
| 23:7-8 | 3.92 | 111 |
| 23:17 | 3.92, 3.94, 3.95 | 111, 112, 113 |
| 23:19-26 | 3.92 | 111 |
| 25:10-38 | 3.26 | 94 |
| *2 Samuel [2 Kings]* | | |
| 9:1-13 | 2.63 | 85 |
| 10:1-4 | 3.27 | 94 |
| 12:1-15 | 3.113 | 119 |
| 12:26-31 | 3.27 | 94 |
| 13:3-5 | 2.40 | 79 |
| 15:12 | 2.41 | 79 |
| 16:5-13 | 3.26 | 94 |
| 16:15–17:23 | 3.27 | 94 |
| 16:16-19 | 2.52 | 82 |
| 17:5-16 | 2.52 | 82 |
| 17:27-29 | 2.62 | 84 |
| 19:31-39 | 2.63 | 85 |
| 21:1-9 | 3.47 | 99 |
| *1 Kings [3 Kings]* | | |
| 2:8-9 | 3.26 | 94 |

*1 Chronicles*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 19:1–20:1 | 3.27 | 94 |

*Tobit*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5:23 | 3.126 | 123 |

*Esther*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7 | 3.47 | 98 |

*Job*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 11:2 | 3.30 | 95 |
| 42:8-10 | 3.133 | 125 |

*Psalms*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8:7-8 [8-9] | 3.77 | 106 |
| [10:6] | 1.35 | 62 |
| [15:2] | 1.52 | 65 |
| 24 [23]:10 | 1.27 | 60 |
| 25 [24]:15 | 3.98 | 114 |
| 34:8 [33:9] | 3.133 | 126 |
| 38 [37]:14 | 3.121 | 122 |
| 40:5 [39:6] | 1.30 | 61 |
| 55:20-21 [54:21-22] | 3.109 | 117 |
| 73 [72]:22 | 3.121 | 122 |
| [99:5] | 3.133 | 126 |
| 133 [132]:1 | 2.26, 3.82, 3.131 | 77, 108, 125 |
| 141 [140]:5 | 3.109 | 117 |
| 145 [144]:14 | Prl.3 | 54 |
| 146 [145]:8 | Prl.3 | 54 |

*Proverbs*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 11:9 | 3.109 | 117 |
| 14:20 | 3.63 | 102 |
| 17:17 | 1.21, 1.23, 1.24, 1.68, 3.44, 3.63 | 59, 69, 98, 102 |
| 22:24-25 | 3.15 | 91 |
| 25:19 | 3.63 | 102 |
| 27:6 | 3.106 | 116 |
| 29:20 (LXX) | 3.30 | 95 |
| 29:20 | 3.30 | 95 |

*Ecclesiastes [Qo]*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2:14 | 3.98 | 113 |
| 4:10 | 2.11 | 72 |
| 7:9 [10] | 3.15 | 91 |
| 9:11-12 [10:11] | 1.42 3.25 | 63 94 |

*Song of Songs*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1:1 | 2.21, 2.27 | 75, 77 |
| 2:6 | 2.27 | 77 |

*Wisdom*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8:7 | 1.49 | 64 |
| 11:23 [24] | 3.110 | 118 |

*Ecclesiasticus [Si]*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6:8 | 1.43 | 63 |
| 6:9 | 3.15 | 91 |
| 6:16 | 2.12, 2.13, 3.74, 3.97 | 73, 105, 113 |
| 22:20-22 [25-27] | 3.22 | 92 |
| 22:22 [27] | 3.17, 3.23, 3.56 | 91, 93, 101 |
| 27:16 [17] | 3.25 | 93 |
| 27:21 [24] | 3.25 | 93 |
| 29:10 [13] | 3.98 | 113 |

*Isaiah*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3:12 | 3.109 | 117 |
| 30:10 | 3.111 | 118 |

*Jeremiah*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5:31 | 3.111 | 118 |

*Ezekiel*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 16:25 | 1.39, 2.57 | 62, 83 |
| 33:11 | 3.110 | 118 |

*Matthew*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5:44 | 1.32 | 61 |
| 7:7 | 1.27 | 60 |
| 8:2 | Prol.3 | 54 |
| 16:19 | 3.117 | 120 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 18:20 | 1.1 | 55 |
| 22:39 | 3.69, 3.128 | 104, 124 |
| *Luke* | | |
| 2:52-53 | 3.91 | 111 |
| 6:27-35 | 1.32 | 61 |
| 6:28 | 3.49 | 99 |
| 7:22 | Prol.3 | 54 |
| 10:37 | 3.96 | 113 |
| 16:9 | 1.44 | 64 |
| 16:10 | 3.65 | 103 |
| 19:17 | 3.65 | 103 |
| 23:12 | 2.24 | 76 |
| *John* | | |
| 13:15 | 3.117 | 120 |
| 13:21-22 | 3.117 | 120 |
| 13:23-25 | 3.117 | 120 |
| 13:23 | 3.117 | 120 |
| 15:13 | 1.30, 2.33, 2.69 | 61, 78, 86 |
| 15:14 | 3.83 | 108 |
| 15:15 | 2.14, 3.83 | 74, 108 |
| 15:16-17 | 1.46 | 64 |
| 16:24 | 1.27 | 60 |
| 19:26-27 | 3.117 | 120 |
| 21:15-17 | 3.117 | 120 |
| 21:22 | 3.117 | 120 |
| *Acts* | | |
| 4:32 | 1.20, 1.28, 2.21, 2.67, 3.99, 3.124 | 59, 60, 75, 85, 114, 123 |
| *Romans* | | |
| 9:2-3 | 2.50 | 82 |
| 12:15 | 1.20, 2.10, 3.101, 3.102, 3.108 | 59, 72, 115, 117 |
| *1 Corinthians* | | |
| 6:17 | 2.21 | 75 |
| 9:22 | 3.102 | 115 |
| 13:4-7 | 3.124 | 123 |
| 15:28 | 3.134 | 126 |
| 15:54-55 | 3.134 | 126 |
| *2 Corinthians* | | |
| 2:4 | 2.51 | 82 |
| 8:15 | 3.91 | 111 |
| 11:3 | 2.51 | 82 |
| 11:28-29 | 2.50 | 82 |
| 12:21 | 2.51 | 82 |
| *Galatians* | | |
| 4:19 | 2.51 | 82 |
| 6:2 | 2.12, 3.132 | 73, 125 |
| *Ephesians* | | |
| 1:22-23 | 3.98 | 114 |
| 5:30 | 3.98 | 114 |
| *Colossians* | | |
| 1:18 | 3.98 | 114 |
| 1:28 | 2.51 | 82 |
| *1 Thessalonians* | | |
| 2:7 | 2.51 | 82 |
| 5:14 | 3.102, 3.108 | 115, 117 |
| *1 Timothy* | | |
| 4:8 | 2.9 | 72 |
| *2 Timothy* | | |
| 2:25 | 2.51 | 82 |
| *Titus* | | |
| 2:12 | 2.43 | 80 |
| *James* | | |
| 1:5 | 3.98 | 114 |
| *1 John* | | |
| 4:11 | 3.86 | 109 |
| 4:16 | 1.69, 1.70 | 69 |
| 4:18 | 3.124 | 123 |

# Index B: Classical, Patristic, and Medieval Works

Column one indicates the patristic source, column two gives its location by book and section in *Spiritual Friendship*, and column three indicates its page number or numbers in this volume.

These notes often but not always indicate a source known to and used by Aelred; many represent analogues in other works or parallels in Aelred's works.


**Aelred**

*De bello standardii*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4 | 3.81 | 107 |

*De Iesu puero duodenni*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8 | 3.133 | 126 |
| 20 | 1.49 | 64 |
| 29–31 | 3.127 | 124 |
| 30 | Prol. 2 | 53 |

*De institutione inclusarum*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 16 | 1.29 | 61 |
| 23–24 | 1.63 | 68 |
| 23 | 3.62 | 102 |
| 26 | 2.21 | 75 |
| 27 | 1.15 | 58 |
| 28 | 1.1, 3.101, 3.133 | 55, 115, 125 |
| 31 | 3.117 | 120 |

*De spiritali amicitia*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Prol. 1 | 2.16, 3.127 | 74, 124 |
| Prol. 4–5 | 1.7 | 57 |
| 1.7 | Prol. 4–5 | 54 |
| 1.10 | 2.20 | 75 |
| 1.31–32 | 1.69 | 69 |
| 2.5 | 3.119 | 121 |
| 2.16 | Prol. 1, 3.127 | 53, 124 |
| 3.81 | Prol. 1 | 53 |
| 3.83 | 2.11 | 72 |
| 3.119 | 2.5 | 71 |
| 3.127 | Prol. 1, 2.16 | 53, 74 |

*Lamentatio David*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 12 | 1.44 | 64 |

*Oratio pastoralis*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7 | 2.50, 3.99, 3.102, 3.108 | 82, 114, 115, 117 |

*Sermones*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 15.32–34 | 3.117 | 120 |
| 50.5 | 3.86 | 109 |
| 50.23 | 2.22 | 75 |
| 51.5 | 3.89 | 110 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 58.20 | 3.89 | 110 |
| 75.48 | Prol. 2 | 53 |
| *Sermones de oneribus* | | |
| 2.36 | 3.133 | 126 |
| *Speculum caritatis* | | |
| 1.2.4 | 1.51 | 65 |
| 1.18.51 | 2.2 | 70 |
| 1.21.61 | 1.53 | 65 |
| 1.25.71 | Prol. 1, 3.127 | 53, 124 |
| 1.31.88–33.92 | 1.49, 2.49 | 64, 81 |
| 1.34.107–8 | 3.81, 3.89 | 107, 110 |
| 1.34.109 | 2.26 | 76 |
| 1.34.112 | 3.81 | 107 |
| 3.2.3–5 | 3.128 | 124 |
| 3.2.3–4 | 1.35 | 62 |
| 3.6.39–109 | 1.19 | 58 |
| 3.6.39 | 1.21 | 59 |
| 3.12.33 | 3.92 | 111 |
| 3.13.35 | 2.62 | 84 |
| 3.18.141 | 3.118 | 120 |
| 3.20.48 | 3.3 | 89 |
| 3.23.54 | 2.57 | 83 |
| 3.29.69–71 | 3.92 | 111 |
| 3.38.106 | 3.114 | 119 |
| 3.39.109–10 | 3.81 | 107 |
| 3.39.110 | 3.117 | 120 |
| *Vita S. Edwardi* | | |
| 28 | 1.44 | 64 |

**Ambrose**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *De officiis* | | |
| 1.133–36 | 1.57 | 66 |
| 2.37 | 3.86, 3.98 | 109, 113 |
| 3.127 | 3.106 | 116 |
| 3.128 | 3.6, 3.7, 3.90, 3.97 | 89, 90, 110, 113 |
| 3.129 | 1.1, 1.3, 1.32, 1.57, 2.12, 3.52, 3.63, 3.80, 3.129, 3.130 | 55, 56, 61, 66, 73, 100, 102, 107, 124, 125 |
| 3.132 | 1.1, 1.3, 1.32, 2.12, 3.52, 3.80, 3.117, 3.129 | 55, 56, 61, 73, 100, 107, 120, 124 |
| 3.133 | 1.57, 3.30, 3.91 | 6, 95, 111 |
| 3.134 | 1.21, 2.11, 3.6, 3.48, 3.70, 3.86 | 59, 72, 89, 99, 104, 109 |
| 3.135 | 3.70 | 104 |
| 3.136 | 1.1, 1.3, 1.32, 1.44, 2.11, 2.14, 3.52, 3.80, 3.83, 3.129 | 55, 56, 61, 64, 72, 74, 100, 107, 108, 124 |
| *De virginibus* | | |
| 2.4.22–32 | 1.29 | 61 |

**Anselm**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| "Prayer for Friends," Oratio 18 | 3.133 | 125 |

**Aristotle**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Nichomachean Ethics* | | |
| 8.3.1–6 | 1.45, 2.60 | 64, 84 |
| 8.5 | Prol. 1 | 53 |

**Augustine**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Confessiones* | | |
| 1.11.17 | Prol. 1 | 53 |
| 2.2.2 | Prol. 1, 2.58, 3.127 | 53, 83, 124 |
| 2.10.18 | Prol. 3 | 54 |
| 3.1.1 | Prol. 1, 3.127 | 53, 124 |
| 3.4.8 | Prol. 5, 1.7 | 54, 57 |
| 3.5.9 | Prol. 4 | 54 |
| 4.4.7 | 3.85, 3.119 | 109, 121 |
| 4.6.11 | 1.28 | 60 |
| 4.9.1 | 3.86 | 109 |
| 6.11.19 | Prol. 3 | 54 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 10.33.50 | Prol. 2 | 53 |
| 11.31.41 | Prol. 3 | 54 |
| *De civitate Dei* | | |
| 19.8 | 2.49 | 81 |
| *De Genesi ad litteram opus imperfectum* | | |
| 16.59 | 3.90 | 110 |
| *De libero arbitrio* | | |
| 2.19 | 1.61 | 67 |
| *Epistolae* | | |
| 145.7 | 3.133 | 125 |
| *Sermones* | | |
| 47.9.13 | 1.63 | 68 |
| 385.4 | 2.60 | 84 |
| *Soliloquiae* | | |
| 1.8 | 3.129 | 124 |

**Benedict**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Regula Benedicti* | | |
| 2.31–32 | 3.102, 3.108 | 115, 117 |
| 64.16 | 3.29 | 95 |

**Bernard of Clairvaux**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *De diligendo Dei* | | |
| 7.17 | 2.61 | 84 |
| 8.26 | 3.5 | 89 |
| *Epistulae* | | |
| 2.7 | 3.102, 3.108 | 115, 117 |
| 35 | 3.109 | 117 |
| 53 | 1.21, 2.13, 3.70 | 59, 73, 104 |
| 65.2 | 2.13 | 73 |
| 78.13 | 3.109 | 117 |
| 85.2 | 3.122 | 122 |
| 85.3 | 3.118 | 120 |
| 107.7–8 | 3.86 | 109 |
| 125.1 | 3.63 | 102 |
| 270.3 | 2.43 | 80 |
| 271 | 3.5 | 89 |
| *Sermones de diversis* | | |
| 10.2 | 2.10 | 72 |
| 10.87 | 2.22 | 75 |
| *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum* | | |
| 3 | 2.22 | 75 |
| 4 | 2.22 | 75 |
| 8 | 2.22 | 75 |
| 9 | 2.22 | 75 |
| 15.3.6 | Prol. 5 | 54 |
| 36.3.3–4 | 1.62 | 68 |
| 59.2 | 1.57 | 66 |
| 71.6 | 2.21 | 75 |
| 77.5 | 3.86 | 109 |
| 83.2.4 | 1.45 | 64 |
| 83.2.5 | 2.61 | 84 |
| "Sermo super psalmum 'Qui habitat'" | | |
| 12 | 3.86 | 109 |

**Cassian**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Conferences* | | |
| 2.4 | 3.62 | 102 |
| 16.2 | 1.38, 1.55 | 62, 66 |
| 16.3 | 1.46 | 64 |
| 16.18 | 3.37 | 96 |
| 16.24 | 3.7 | 90 |
| 16.28 | 2.53 | 82 |

**Cassiodorus**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *De anima* | | |
| 13 | 3.89 | 110 |

**Chaucer, Geoffrey**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *The Canterbury Tales* | | |
| X (1).925–27 | | |
| | 1.57 | 66 |

**Cicero**
*De amicitia*
4.15 1.25 60
5.18 2.41, 2.43, 2.55, 3.10, 3.59 80, 83, 90, 101
6.20 1.11, 1.29, 1.46, 3.8 57, 61, 64, 90
6.22 2.11, 2.13, 3.87 72, 73, 109
7.23 2.13, 2.14 73
7.24 1.28 60
8.26 1.19, 2.18 58,74
8.27 1.51 65
8.72 3.91 111
9.30–31 2.61, 2.62 84
9.30 2.63 85
9.31 1.45 64
9.32 1.21 59
9.33 2.46 81
10.34 1.22 59
11.38 2.38 79
12.40 2.38, 2.43 79, 80
13.44 3.97, 3.99, 3.103 113, 114, 115
13.45 2.45, 2.46, 3.123 80, 81, 123
13.47–48 2.49 81
13.47 2.49 81
14.49 3.86 109
14.51 2.64 85
15.51 2.60 84
15.52 3.81 107
16.56 2.31 78
16.59 2.46 81
17.61 2.29 77
17.62 3.75 105, 106
17.63 3.76, 3.95 106, 112
17.64 3.95 112
18.65 2.29, 2.41, 2.55, 3.10, 3.59, 3.88 77, 80, 83, 90, 101, 110
18.66 3.89 110
19.69 1.57, 3.90 66, 110
20.73 3.116 119
20.75 3.118 120
21.76 3.40, 3.41 97
21.77 3.42 97
21.78 3.42, 3.44 97, 98
21.79–80 3.118 120
21.79 2.53, 3.40, 3.68 82, 97, 103
21.80 3.68 104
21.81 1.21, 1.54, 1.55, 2.11, 3.6, 3.48, 3.86 59, 66, 72, 89, 99, 109
22.82 3.72, 3.102 105, 115
23.86 2.10 72
23.87 3.77 106
24.88–90 3.105 116
24.88 3.73 105
24.89 3.104 116
25.91 3.108 117
25.92 1.21, 2.11, 3.86, 3.109 59, 72, 109, 117
25.93 3.111 118
27.102 2.5, 3.119 71, 121

*De inventione*
2.55 2.44, 2.60 64, 84

*Pro plancio*
80 3.77 106

*Timaeus*
6 3.6 89

**Dante Alighieri**
*Inferno*
5.28–142 1.41 63

**Euripides**
*Hippolytus*
257–60 2.46 81

**Gilbert of Hoyland**
*Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*
29.1 (PL 30.1)
3.86 109
31.8 (PL 32.8)
2.21 75

**Gregory the Great**
*Dialogi 2*.Prol
3.119 121

**Isidore of Seville**
*Etymologiae*
10.4 1.20 59

**Jerome**
*Commentarium in Ezekiel*
4.16.15 1.39 62

*Commentarium in Michaeam*
2.7.5/7.198–200
3.90 110

*Epistulae*
3.6 1.24, 1.68, 3.48 59, 69, 99
8.1 2.13 73
8.2 3.41 97
133.4 Prol. 2 53

**Julianus Pomerius**
*De vita contemplativa*
1.Prol.2 1.26 60

*Sacramentarium Veronense*
38.1229 1.27 60

**Ovid**
*Ex Ponto*
2.3.23–24 1.43 63

**Peter Lombard**
*Sententiae*
2.18.2 1.57 66

**Pseudo-Ignatius**
*Epistula ad Trallianos*
13.3 2.26 76

**Pseudo-Seneca**
*Monita*
97 1.26, 3.101, 3.133 60, 115, 125

**Sallust**
*Bellum Catilinae*
20.4 1.40, 1.48, 2.28, 3.11, 3.120, 3.124 63, 64, 77, 90, 121, 123

**Seneca**
*De ira*
3.8.5 3.37 96

*Epistola ad Lucilius*
9.1 2.45 80
22.3 3.41 97

**Terence**
*Andria*
1.1.41 3.104 116

*Eunuchus*
252–53 3.111 118

**Walter Daniel**
*Centum Sententia*
45 2.22 75
79 3.133 126

**"The Wanderer"**
ll. 106–10 1.42 63

**William of Saint Thierry**
*De contemplando Deo*
7 2.21 75

*Epistola (aurea) ad fratres de Monte Dei*
262–63 2.21 75

*Expositio super Cantica canticorum*
30–31 2.23 76

*Meditativae orationes*
8.5 2.23 76

**Xenophon**
*Memorabilia*
1.3.5 2.3 70
2.4.1–7 3.75 105
2.4.7 3.126 123

# Index C: General Index

Each item below is cited by book and paragraph in *Spiritual Friendship* (e.g., 2.41) or by page number and note number in the Introduction. Works are listed under their authors' names.


| | |
|---|---|
| Absalom | 2.41; 3.26–27 |
| Achitophel | 3.27 |
| Adam | 1.57–58; 2.40; Intro 28, 32 |
| Adrian IV, Pope | n. 44 |
| Aelred of Rievaulx | *passim* |
| *Battle of the Standard* | Intro 19–20, n. 15 |
| *A Certain Wonderful Miracle* | Intro 20 |
| *De quattuor hominibus* | Intro 23 |
| *Dialogus* | Intro n. 30 |
| *The Formation of Anchoresses* | Intro 21, n. 3 |
| *Genealogy of the Kings of the English* | Intro 20 |
| *Jesus as a Boy of Twelve* | Intro 21, n. 46 |
| *Lament for David, King of Scotland* | Intro 19, 20, n. 9 |
| *The Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor* | Intro 18, 20, n. 28 |
| *The Life of Saint Ninian* | Intro 20 |
| *The Mirror of Charity* | 1.19; Intro 20–21, 40–41, 45, nn. 12, 17 |
| *The Nun of Watton* | Intro 20 |
| *On the Prophetic Burdens of Isaiah* | Intro 22 |
| *On the Soul* | Intro 22, nn. 25, 52 |
| *Pastoral Prayer* | Intro 14, 21, n. 6 |
| *The Saints of Hexham* | Intro 20 |
| *S "In translacione"* | Intro n. 20 |
| *Spiritual Friendship* | Intro 21, 22–23, and *passim* |

Aelred, Fr. Intro 28, 29, 31, 34, 37–38, 41, 43–44, 46–47
Æthelwold (Aelred's brother) Intro 14
Ahasuerus, King 3.47
Alexander III, Pope n. 44; Intro 17, 18
Ambrose, Bishop of Milan 3.30; 3.70; 3.83–84; 3.97; 3.106; Intro 25, 27–29, 30, 31, 32, 38–39, 42, nn. 38, 43
*De officiis ministrorum/On the Duties of the Clergy* Intro 25, 27–29, 32, nn. 38, 43, 57
Amon 2.40; Intro 32
Anglo-Saxon Intro 20
Antioch 1.29; Intro 42, 49
Aristotle Intro 26, 31
*Nichomachean Ethics* Intro 26, 31
Augustine 1.63; 3.85; 3.87; Intro 25, 29–31, 34, 35, 36, 38, nn. 38, 39
*Confessions* Intro 25, 29–31, 34, 35, nn. 38, 57

Baptism Intro 43
Barzillai the Gileadite 2.62–63
Bede, the Venerable Intro 19
Bernard of Clairvaux Intro 15, 16
Boaz 3.100; Intro 32

Cassian Intro 31
Christ *see* Jesus
*Chronicon Angliae* Intro nn. 19, 20
Cicero, Marcus Tullius Prol. 4–5; 1.8; 1.11; 1.14; 1.25; 1.28; 2.13; 2.49; 3.95; Intro 25, 26–27, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38–39, 41, 42, 45, 49, nn. 38, 39, 43
*Hortensius* Intro 30
*Laelius/De amicitia/On Friendship* Prol. 2; Prol. 4–5; 1.6; 1.11; Intro 25, 26–27, 30, 34–35, 37, 38, nn. 43, 45, 56
*De senectute/On Old Age* Intro 34–35
Cistercian(s), Cistercian Order Intro 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 23, 24, 25, 43, 48, nn. 22, 38, 43, 58
Cistercian General Chapter Intro 18, 21–22
Cîteaux Intro 19, 22

Civil War, English — Intro 19
Clairvaux Abbey — 3.67; Intro 19
Conqueror *see* William I, King
Council of Clermont, the — Intro 13

Daniel, Walter *see* Walter Daniel
David, King of Israel — 2.52; 2.62–63; 3.26–27; 3.47; 3.92–95; 3.109; 3.113; Intro 32, 49
David I, King of Scotland — Intro 14, 15, 16, 19
Doeg the Edomite — 2.40
Douai — Intro 24
Durham — Intro 14

Eden — Intro 38
Edith, Queen (Matilda, Maud) — Intro 13, n. 1
Edward the Confessor, King — Intro 18, 20
Eilaf (Aelred's father) — Intro 14, 20, n. 3
Eilaf (Aelred's grandfather) — Intro 20
England — Intro 13, 16, 18, 19, 20
Espec, Walter *see* Walter Espec
Eucharist, Eucharistic — Intro 43, n. 58
Euripides — Intro 31
Europe — Intro 24
Eve — 1.57; 2.40; Intro 28, 32, 49

Flaxley Abbey — Intro n. 38
Foliot, Gilbert *see* Gilbert Foliot
Franciscan — Intro 23
Furies, the — 1.41

Gaius Laelius *see* Laelius, Gaius
Galloway — Intro 20
Gibeonites — 3.47
Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London — Intro 22
Gilbert of Hoyland — Intro 18, n. 21
Gilbertines — Intro 20
Gnatho — 3.111
Gratian, a monk — 2–3 *passim*; Intro 31, 36–40, 47
Guido de Crene, Cardinal (Pascal III) — 2.41, n. 44
Guillaume de Lorris — Intro n. 35

| | |
|---|---|
| Haman | 3.47 |
| Hanun | 3.27 |
| Heber the Kenite | 3.47 |
| Henry I, King | Intro 13, n. 1 |
| Henry II, King (Henry of Anjou) | Intro 17, 18, 19, 20 |
| Henry, Prince | Intro 14, 19 |
| Henry of Anjou *see* Henry II, King | |
| Hexham | Intro 14, 20 |
| Holme Cultram Abbey | Intro n. 38 |
| Holy Roman Emperor (Frederick I Barbarossa) | n. 44 |
| Hushai the Archite | 2.52 |
| Innocent II, Pope | Intro 16 |
| Ivo, a monk | 1 *passim*, 2.4–5; 3.9; Intro 32, 33, 35–39, 43–44, nn. 46, 50 |
| Jael | 3.47 |
| Jean de Meun | Intro 24, n. 35 |
| *Roman de la Rose* | Intro 24, n. 35 |
| Jerome | 1.24; 1.68; Intro 30, 31 |
| Jerusalem | Intro 21 |
| Jervaulx Abbey | Intro 23 |
| Jesse | 3.94 |
| Jesus/Christ/our Savior | Prol. 5; Prol. 8; 1.1; 1.7; 1.8; 1.10; 1.16; 1.30; 1.46; 1.69; 2.14; 2.20–21; 2.26–27; 2.33; 2.68; 3.69; 3.83; 3.98; 3.117; 3.127; 3.133–34; Intro 17, 19, 21, 22, 26, 28, 30, 32, 35, 38, 41, 43, 47, 48 |
| Jocelyn of Furness | Intro 18 |
| John, the apostle | 1.69; 3.117; Intro 43 |
| John of Saint Martin, Cardinal | 2.41, n. 44 |
| Jonadab | 2.40; Intro 32 |
| Jonathan | 2.63; 3.47; 3.92–95; Intro 32, 49 |
| Katherine of Alexandria, Saint | Intro 22 |
| Laelius, Gaius | Intro 26, 30 |
| Laurence of Durham | Intro 14 |

London Intro 22
Louth Park Abbey Intro n. 38

Margam Abbey Intro 23, n. 30
Marriage Intro 43
Mary, mother of Jesus 3.117
Matilda, Queen Intro n. 1
Matilda, the Empress Intro 13, 19
Matilda of St. Liz Intro 14
Maud, Good Queen *see*
Edith, Queen
Maurice, Abbot of Rievaulx Intro 16
Meaux Abbey Intro n. 38
Milan Intro 27
Miriam 3.28

Nabal of Carmel 3.26
Nahash, king of the Ammonites 3.27
Nathan the prophet 3.113
Ninian, Saint Intro 20
Northumbria Intro 14

Octavian of Monticello (Maledetti) 2.41, n. 44; Intro 22
Orestes 1.28; Intro 30
Otto, Cardinal 2.41, n. 44

Pascal III, antipope *see*
Guido de Crene, Cardinal
Paul, Saint 2.12; 2.50–51
Peter, the apostle 3.117
Peter of Blois Intro 23
*De amicitia christiana* Intro 23
*Peterborough Chronicle* Intro 17
Philistine, the (Goliath) 3.93
Pylades 1.28; Intro 30

Reformation Intro 18
Reginald of Durham Intro 14, 18
*Libellus S. Godrici* Intro n. 5
*Registrum Librorum Anglie* Intro 23, n. 30
Revesby Abbey Intro 15, 16, 21, 24

Richard of Hexham — Intro 18, n. 3
"Prior Richard's History" — Intro n. 3
Rievaulx Abbey — Intro 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 29, n. 38
Roche Abbey — Intro n. 38
Rolando of Siena *see* Alexander III, Pope
Rome — Intro 19
*Rule of Saint Benedict* — Intro 21
Ruth the Moabite — 3.100; Intro 32, 49
Rye (River) Valley — Intro 16

Saint Andrew, church of — Intro 14
Sallust — Intro 31
Samuel (Aelred's brother) — Intro 14
Saul, King — 2.40; 3.47; 3.92–94
Savior, our *see* Jesus
Scipio Africanus the Younger — Intro 26
Scotland — Intro 13, 14
Seneca — Intro 31
Shimei — 3.26
Simon — Intro 14
Sisera — 3.47
Solomon — 1.21; 3.15; 3.25; 3.26; 3.30; 3.63; 3.109
Stephen, King — Intro 13, 16, 19, 20
Surrey — Intro 17
Swine Abbey — Intro n. 38

Terence — 3.111; Intro 31
Theophrastus — Intro 26
Troyes — Intro 21

Urban II, Pope — Intro 13

Victor IV, antipope, *see* Octavian of Monticello
Viking — Intro 20

Waldef — Intro 14
Walter, a monk — 2–3 *passim*; Intro 31, 33, 35–40

Walter Daniel Intro 14–15, 16, 17, 18, 36, nn. 38, 46
*Letter to Maurice* Intro 17, n. 16
*Vita Aelredi* Intro 14–15, 17, 36, nn. 4, 7, 8, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 38, 46, 47
Walter Espec Intro 16, 20
Wardon Abbey Intro n. 46
Wark Intro 16
Waverley Abbey Intro 16–17
Westminster Intro 19
White Ship, the Intro 13
Whithorn Intro 19, 20
Wilfrid, Bishop of Hexham Intro 14
William, Abbot of Rievaulx Intro 16, 18
William, Archbishop of York Intro 16
William I, King Intro 13, n. 1
William, Prince Intro 13
Woburn Abbey Intro 23

Xenophon Intro 26, 31
*Memorabilia* Intro 26

York Intro 16
Yorkshire Intro 14

# Index D: Modern Authors, Editors, and Translators

People and works are cited by page and note numbers in the Introduction.


Barstow, Anne L., n. 2
Bell, David N., 23, 50; n. 30, 31, 38, 53
Braceland, Lawrence C., SJ, 48–49
Brooke, Christopher, n. 2
Burton, Pierre-André, OCSO, 38, 40, 44; nn. 49, 51, 55

Canivez, J., n. 26
Carmichael, E. D. H., 44; n. 54

Davy, M. M., n. 32
De Briey, Gaëtane, OCSO, 24
Delfendehl, B., 25
Delhaye, Philippe, n. 32
Dubois, Jean, 24, 44; nn. 26, 39, 50
Dumont, Charles, OCSO, 21, 24; n. 24
Dutton, Marsha L., nn. 10, 20, 23, 58

Egenter, Richard, 24
Elder, E. Rozanne, 50

Falconer, William Armistead, n. 45
Fiske, Adele, 28; nn. 41, 43
Fleming, John V., 24, 28; nn. 35, 42, 43
Friedman, Lionel J., 24; n. 35

Gibbons, Richard, 24

Hallier, Amédée, 44
Hoste, Anselm, 23, 24, 25; nn. 5, 28, 29, 33, 34

Jackson, Peter, n. 20
Jerome, M. Francis, 25

Knowles, David, n. 13

Laker, M. E., 25, 48
Leclercq, Jean, OSB, 44

McEvoy, James, nn. 27, 39, 50
McGuire, Brian Patrick, 44; nn. 27, 43
Merton, Thomas, 15; n. 11
Migne, J.-P., 24

Otten, Karl, 24

Pezzini, Domenico, 24, 50
Pine-Coffin, R. S., n. 57
Powicke, Maurice, 36; n. 48

Raciti, Gaetano, 25

Sommerfeldt, John R., 50
Squire, Aelred, 44; nn. 4, 13, 20, 22, 43
Steigman, Emero, n. 24

Talbot, C. H., 25
Tissier, Bertrand, 24

Waddell, Fr. Chrysogonus, OCSO, 50
Williams, Mark F., 25